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London: Operation Salvage

New Republic

Religious Faith and Loyalty

By Hoxie N. Fairchild

New Light on Dixon-Yates . . . . . *Michael Straight*

McCarthy and Public Opinion . . . *Gerald W. Johnson*

Whose Man Is Knowland? . . . . . *Wilfred Binkley*

Gossiping about Faulkner . . . . . *Irving Howe*

1954's Best Stories . . . . . *William Saroyan*

A Lyric Is a Sometime Thing

The Popular Song — From "Swannee" to "Sh-boom"

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

We rather suspect Ike will have a Democratic Congress next year. What happens? Well, it's complicated. In the first place GOP leaders will blame "apathetic voters." 100 million people are entitled to vote and we doubt if 40 percent do so. Is this a sign of moral indifference and decay? No. It's true that more voters vote in foreign countries, but they don't have so many elections. An election every two years is too much; it's a defect in the Constitution. The people who do vote will probably be representative enough.

Would loss of Congress be a factor in deciding Ike not to run for a second term, as Sherman Adams, White House factotum, hints? We doubt it. As we see it Ike is stuck with a second term fight whether he wants it or not, and whether he yet realizes it or not. A general can't bow out just because a battle is getting hot.

Well, then, suppose Democrats capture Congress; so what? It will be a big psychological aid in 1956. But it could also be a handicap. If Democrats win they must share legislative responsibility. Whatever happens the GOP will blame the Democrats. If confusion and stalemate really occur the voters might turn all the more to Ike, particularly if his remarkable popularity keeps up.

The greater chance is, we think, that government by coalition will continue for another two years. According to the esteemed *Congressional Quarterly* Ike won 164 out of 198 tests of leadership in the 83rd Congress but would have lost 121 of those 164 "victories" without Democratic votes. Always he needed Democrats. Sometimes Southern conservatives crashed through and aided him on a reactionary issue, like giving away tidelands oil. Sometimes Democrats helped him win on liberal issues. We don't think the Democratic record is very brilliant. On the other hand Ike couldn't have operated without Democrats, and maybe if he had offered more liberal bills the Democrats would have given him more liberal support.

The real stakes in Congressional control are three: voting power (to the extent that there is any real difference between the "Ins" and the "Outs"); control and initiation of investigations; and control of committee chairmen—the men who turn the faucet on or off for specific bills. Of these three, the biggest change arising from Democratic control as we see it would be the probable addition of 20 to 40 more liberals to Congress. They would make a substantial difference in mood and atmosphere. Committee chairmanships would be less important. They are allocated by seniority, in which the Democratic conservatives are rich. But even here there would be quite a change. Suppose the Senate swings Democratic, for example. Carl Hayden (D, Ariz.) would take Appropriations from Bridges (R, N.H.); Jim Murray (D, Mont.) would take Interior Affairs from Butler (R, Neb.); Magnuson (D, Wash.) would replace Bricker as head of Interstate Commerce; and McClellan (D, Ark.) would replace McCarthy on investigations. Come to think of it that last item reduces things to simple terms and a single slogan: "If you want to keep McCarthy as chairman—Vote Republican."

A modest, soft-spoken Southerner has put the whole multi-billion dollar utility lobby on the defensive. He is also striking as damaging blows at Eisenhower as we have ever seen struck. He is James Stietenroth, former secretary-treasurer of the Mississippi Power and Light Company, an operating subsidiary of the Dixon-Yates combine. If a prominent Russian had come over to our side and begun to "tell all" the story wouldn't be more dramatic than the tale this witness is telling Senators Langer and Kefauver, up in the crowded hay-loft of a committee room where a rump session of the Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee has been hastily convened. Stietenroth is quietly persuasive and seems to know his stuff. He is telling about rigged rates, "spite lines" to damage rural co-operatives, interference in local elections, Wall Street domination that makes a joke of the 1935 Holding Company Act, venomous hatred of TVA, and above all, the political intrigues inside Dixon-Yates. Now, Dixon-Yates is Ike's baby. Ike's prestige is committed to Dixon-Yates. Out of a clear sky last June Ike directed the Atomic Energy Commission, without competitive bidding, to contract with Dixon-Yates for a huge, $107 million steam plant at West Memphis, Ark., to supply TVA which would then feed power on to AEC. Dixon-Yates is Ike's champion of private power against creeping socialism. The 25-year contract Ike proposes is a utility man's opium dream: guaranteed power rates and profit of $140 millions. We listened to Stietenroth last week. If he is correct we don't see how Dixon-Yates can go through. The press hasn't paid this much attention, but we think they will.

Commerce Secretary Sinclair (Sinny) Weeks has never struck us as very bright. He's a genial Boston blue blood and industrialist who came to Washington like a conqueror to a captured city. Right away he started the "AD-X2" row with the Bureau of Standards. He regarded the Bureau as socialistic. He lost that fight. But he busted Durkin out from the Labor Department, got Ike to support a preposterous anti-strike referendum proposal which Congress laughed at, and now is feuding with Labor Secretary Mitchell.

There's been a big strike of copper workers in Chile and at home, and Weeks wanted to break the strike by releasing copper from US stockpiles. He is making an all-out fight to put trade unions under the anti-trust law. His Assistant Secretary went before a group of chambers of commerce last month in Missouri and deplored Ike's widening of unemployment compensation as a "defeat for states' rights conservatives." Everybody likes Weeks, he's so jolly and direct and candid and feels so confident that he knows what's good for a Big Business administration.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Russia's Point Four Starts in India

FOUR MOVES in quick order indicate that there has been a Soviet strategy shift in the battle for the mind of Asia.

The Indian Minister for Commerce and Industry has announced that India plans to import a few Soviet cars in order to ascertain their price and performance. It is now known, also, that three Russian experts have come to India to modernize the Panna Diamond Mining Industry in Vindhya Pradesh. And the Indian public has learned that four Russian tractors were being tested in Bhopal.

But the most startling of the four developments was officially confirmed September 24. Russia has made a fascinating offer in connection with erecting India's "fourth steel plant," for which the Soviet Union has declared its willingness "to supply machinery and equipment as well as technical assistance," and has also agreed to send a team of experts at its own expense to make a preliminary survey and finalize a contract with the government of India. If an agreement should be signed, Russia promises that the plant will come into operation long before the "third steel plant," which Germans started building more than a year ago. As in China, so in India, the Russians promise to train Indians quickly and then clear out. And rumors insist Russia has offered an easy payment plan: fifteen yearly installments, 2½ percent interest.

Two aspects of the Russian offer are unusual. First, the proposal is extremely generous. Second, it was made indirectly, by word of mouth, through a Minister in the Nehru Cabinet, so that in principle it was approved quickly by the Cabinet without the usual delays of Secretariat red-tape. Behind these two stratagems lies Russian apprehension that a majority of the high officials in the Secretariat and the Ministries do not trust Russia when it comes to business. The wheat-purchase from Russia three years ago when there was a famine left a bad impression: Russian terms were too exacting. Accordingly Russia feared Delhi would cold-shoulder the new offer. They therefore made the proposal so alluring, that rejection would have justified charges of partisanship, despite India's professions of neutrality.

Although India has the richest high-grade iron ores in the world, its yearly output of steel is only 1.1 million tons. The target of the first Five-Year Plan, to be reached by 1956, is 2.2 million tons. The German combine of Krupps-Demag is erecting a plant in Orissa—popularly known as the "third steel plant" because two plants exist already, the Tata Plant at Jamshedpur, and the Indian Iron and Steel Corporation plant near Calcutta—with a capacity of half a million tons a year, and an expansion capacity of half a million tons more.

Recently the Minister for Commerce and Industry announced that India should be able to produce six million tons of steel a year by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period, in 1961. This may be too high a target without foreign aid. But it indicates India's eagerness to enter the steel age. The climate is hot, and the Russians have struck quickly and expertly.

India is the first non-Communist country in the world to receive the new Russian offers of technical and material assistance. Lying as she does midway between the Eastern Bloc and the Western Bloc, both physically and psychologically, India is the logical place for Russia to start. Moreover, India retains a tremendous symbolic significance for the rest of Asia. Fashions originating in Delhi are taken up by other Asian nations.

Until now, American strategy in Asia has, by and large, been that of economic aid, while Russian exports have been primarily of ideas. When Americans did supplement technical and material aid programs with ideas, they usually were of an *anti* character. Each clearly watched the other, assessed the effectiveness of each other's technique, and have now begun to imitate each other. Gradually America is learning to play up ideas; Russia has decided to use material aid along with the appeal of its propaganda slogans.

Voters' Guide

With this issue, each *New Republic* subscriber receives free the 24-page supplement, VOTERS' GUIDE TO 1954: *Two Years of Eisenhower*. A service provided every two years just before Congressional and Presidential elections, the VOTERS' GUIDE analyses the Administration's legislative record since the last election, and records key votes of every member of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Return to Deceit

THE TRUMAN loyalty program for federal employees was soundly spanked by the Eisenhower Administration for having confined itself to issues of loyalty; to fire an employee under that program was said to place on him the terrible brand of disloyalty. In its place the Republicans substituted a broader security program. Employees could now be discharged as security risks for being drunkards, homosexuals, gossips, chronic debtors, mentally ill, disloyal or subversive. All such undesirables were indiscriminately to be labeled security risks.

A high Administration spokesman has recently admitted the failure of this great "reform." It was quietly reported in the *Washington Evening Star* that a top Air Force official had this to say:

> There is no doubt in our minds that employee morale in the government has suffered as a result of the loyalty-security program. When employees know that they can be dismissed summarily as a security risk on almost

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any kind of charge, they naturally are apprehensive about their jobs. What's more, most employees know that if they are fired as security risks even though the charge has nothing to do with Communism, they are labeled as disloyal in the minds of the public. And getting another job is virtually impossible. Therefore, what we are doing is to use the loyalty-security program only in cases where national security is involved.

The statement might raise hopes that other government agencies will adopt some such sensible distinction. But against that hope must be weighed the antics of Vice President Nixon who even now is stumping the country reviving the discredited "numbers game" (*NR*, March 15) by intoning the magic and misleading word "thousands" whenever he refers to the number of subversives "kicked out" of government by the Eisenhower Administration.

Nixon Visits Topeka

PRESSED hard against the rope which held the crowd back when Vice President Richard M. Nixon spoke from the steps of the Statehouse in Topeka, Kansas, September 16, was a small unassuming man of 75 years whose shrewd eyes twinkled in obvious enjoyment of the occasion. He was Howard S. Miller, farmer from Hiawatha, who in '52 did the impossible by defeating Republican Rep. Albert M. Cole (now Federal Housing Administrator), thus becoming the first Democrat ever to go to Congress from Kansas' overwhelmingly Republican First District.

Miller, who won against the 1952 landslide by 7,000 votes, has endeared himself personally to most of his district, displaying a shrewd folksy personality dubbed by one observer "a combination of Will Rogers and Abraham Lincoln."

His opponent this year is 43-year-old William H. Avery, Wakefield farmer, who won the Republican primary on an anti-Tuttle Creek platform, thus removing the central campaign issue of '52. Avery is a vigorous and personable young man; he has the backing of every major paper in his district; he'll have at least 10 times as much money in his campaign fund as Miller has; and most of the voters in his district vote Republican automatically. On the face of it, his triumph seems certain. Yet the Vice President found it necessary to visit Topeka to put his arm around Avery—clear evidence of Republican jitters over the farm vote.

Adroit political jujitsu was demonstrated by Miller within seconds after Nixon finished speaking. To reporters he issued a statement in which he said, "I am happy to have the Vice President in the first district and to have him direct his attention to me. If the Republicans are running scared, what are they afraid of? Can it be they are afraid of their record? . . . I am sure the first district voters do not want a rubber stamp representative in Congress. If they do, I am not their man."

Talmadge Wins

HERMAN TALMADGE, Governor of Georgia, is a clever young man. Asked recently during a political speech if the refusal to admit the equal rights of all Americans regardless of race, creed or color did not in fact provide ammunition for Russian propagandists, Talmadge said he doesn't let the Communists make up his mind for him." With the same kind of deftness during the recent primary campaign he hardened his hold on the Georgia Democratic party.

After six years, under Talmadge as governor (the state's constitutional limit), the voters of Georgia replaced him with the man of his choice: Marvin Griffin, the state's Lieutenant Governor since 1949. Although Griffin won only 36.6 percent of the total popular vote, he was in by a landslide winner under the county unit system, polling 302 votes to the nearest challenger's 56.

Before the September 8 primary, the odds favored Anti-Administration M. E. Thompson—former Acting Governor, and the man who almost tied Herman Talmadge for popular votes in 1950. Against him were three pro-Talmadge candidates—Griffin, seeking this promotion since 1946; House Speaker Fred Hand, managed by King-Maker Roy Harris and supported by the Atlanta newspaper monopoly; and the ancient Agricultural Commissioner, Tom Linder. All five major candidates swore to preserve school segregation despite the recent Supreme Court decision. Linder wanted three sets of schools—one for whites, one for colored children, and one for the "dregs" who were willing to attend mixed schools. Hand proclaimed that he would work from a jail cell before he would allow mixing of children. And even Thompson took the perennial Talmadge pledge that he wouldn't allow mixing in the schools as long as he was Governor. But Marvin Griffin went a step further: he publically proclaimed his support of Talmadge's constitutional amendment which, if passed this coming November, will allow the General Assembly to abolish the public schools and permit the State Government to subsi-

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dize school children attending private and segregated schools.

Three factors contributed to the Talmadge-Griffin victory. Early in the campaign, Charles Gowen, an anti-Talmadge candidate without any political organization or visible financial support, began stumping the state. He gained support in the large six-unit and four-unit counties which Thompson had won handily both in 1948 and in 1950. Thompson's chief supporters — Ex-Governors Ellis Arnall and Ed Rivers in particular—immediately charged that Gowen was receiving Griffin money to split the anti-Talmadge vote. Governor Herman Talmadge broke his pledge to Hand and Linder to remain neutral and told his friends to "center down" on Griffin. Then Sen. Richard Russell—unopposed for re-nomination on the Democratic ticket—intervened in behalf of his niece's husband, Ernest Vandiver, running for Lieutenant Governor. The Talmadge-Russell ticket of Griffin for Governor and Vandiver for Lieutenant Governor was created and this alliance may pave the way for Talmadge's elevation to the US Senate in 1956.

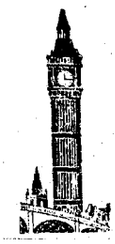
Griffin's victory means the political death of thrice-defeated M. E. Thompson; Ed Rivers has been pushed out of political power probably forever; the over-rated influence of Roy Harris has been curbed; the political career of Tom Linder is over; the return of Ellis Arnall to active Georgia politics has been postponed. The Griffin victory smashed the old anti-Talmadge machine; it has not won a major state-wide race since 1942. Charles Gowen of Brunswick is the only man left standing in the anti-Talmadge group—around him a new coalition may be formed.

Herman Talmadge emerged from the race the undisputed ruler of the State of Georgia. He has the support of the Atlanta *Journal and Constitution*—historical enemies of his father; and during the last few years he has gained the allegiance of the respectable business element in Georgia's larger cities. Through the sales tax and skillful financial manipulation, he has been able to finance expanding state services, thus robbing his liberal opponents of a major campaign issue. At the same time, the recent Supreme Court decision has provided him and his new Governor with a tailormade argument for the continued rule of the demagogue.

London Dispatch Bevan Voted Down

The Labour Party has just ended its most critical conference in years at Scarborough, and the result has been a smashing triumph for responsibility all along the line.

For the first time since before the war it had looked to all observers as if the party leadership was due to be defeated on a major issue of national policy—the rearmament of Germany. And such a defeat on the morning of the Nine-Power London Conference might well have had a direct and disastrous effect on the whole of Western policy. For although at present Labour is in opposition, public opinion polls show that it has now a clear lead over the Conservatives. And a decision at Scarborough against German rearmament might have swayed the votes of Continental Socialist parties whose support is essential if any agreement in London is to get Parliamentary approval. So it was no accident that the two most responsible British newspapers —the *London Times* and the *Economist* —produced simultaneous editorials the weekend before which insisted that Party Conferences should be forbidden to decide the policy of potential governments.



In the event all the warnings proved unnecessary. The Labour leadership won a majority of a quarter of a million votes for a German defense contribution. More important still, many of the speakers insisted that Labour should immediately play an active role in helping to break the present international deadlock. So years of equivocation and uncertainty are at last ended. As impressive as the vote itself was the way in which the debate was conducted. Serious arguments were presented soberly on both sides to a quiet and attentive audience, and when the three hours of debate were over every important aspect of the problem had received expression.

The conference spent the day before receiving Attlee's report on the visit to Moscow and Peking, and rejecting a motion to oppose the SEATO Treaty. Here again the event made nonsense of wild predictions on both sides of the Atlantic that Peking had infected the Labour Party with neutralism. Attlee repeated his well-known views on the neutralization of Formosa and the admission of China to the United Nations. But he made no attempt to disguise his dislike of Communism as a political system. And Sam Watson, the shrewd Durham miner who replied to the debate on SEATO for the Executive, went a good deal further in expressing skepticism about the readiness of the Chinese leaders to make the concessions on which a Far Eastern settlement must depend. He warned strongly against giving China a veto on Western policy in Asia, and the rebels were defeated by a majority of three to one.

This series of victories for responsibility was topped off by the elections to the National Executive Committee. As expected, the young ex-Chancellor Hugh Gaitskell defeated Aneurin Bevan for the post of Treasurer which ranks third in the party hierarchy—after Attlee and Morrison. And his majority was much larger than expected—over two to one. This suggests that he received support, not only from the bulk of the Trade Unions, but also from at least a third of the constituency parties, which have previously shown a total and exclusive loyalty to Bevan. Incidentally one of the most dramatic moments in the debate on Germany came when Desmond Donnelly, formerly a member of the inner circle of the rebels, confessed that his recent tour of the satellite countries had convinced him of the need for rearming Western Germany. At this point he rounded on his former leader and pointing a stern finger at Bevan, cried "Some people will bear a heavy responsibility in history."

All in all, the Scarborough Conference marks a turning point in the history of the Labour Party. For the first time since Bevan's resignation in 1951 the party has unambiguously affirmed its loyalty to the policies and personalities to which it owes the shining achievement of its six postwar years in power. Nothing is more likely to insure that it will soon have an opportunity to repeat that achievement.

London DENIS HEALEY, M. P.

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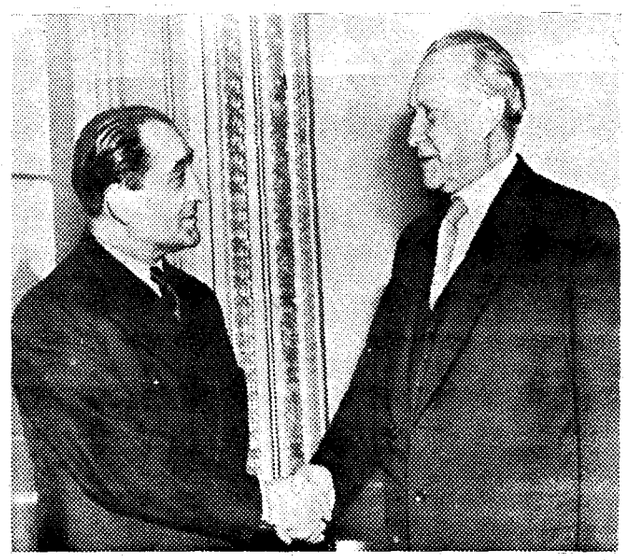
London Revival

Will the Nine Parliaments Back Up Their Diplomats?

by Frank Gorrell



WHEN Anthony Eden announced at the London conference that Her Majesty's Government would give a solemn promise to maintain four divisions of British troops and the tactical air force on the European continent until 1998, Paul-Henri Spaak turned to Pierre Mendès-France and said: "You have won." René Massigli, the French Ambassador in London, took off his eyeglasses and brushed tears from his eyes—tears of joy. First, the French Premier, then every other head of delegation rose to welcome the decision as historic.

A few days before, the *London Times* had abandoned its traditional reserve to argue for just such a step, saying: "Morally, culturally and geographically Britain is now a European power. Time and science have reinforced this truth rather than made it less" for "in this jet-age of the hydrogen and the rocket bomb, the whole of northern Europe is the Low Countries. . . . Faced with the alternative of a free or a Communist Europe, [Britain] can never envisage being neutral" and "whenever Europe becomes free again, Britain's 'frontier' could well be the Vistula."

Yet the decision came as a surprise. For it departed from ancient tradition. If Sir Edward Grey had succeeded in 1912 in getting its equivalent—Britain's alignment with a continental European alliance to prevent aggression—the lights might not have gone out in Europe, and in the world, in 1914. If Eden had succeeded in a similar enterprise—between Nazi Germany's reoccupation of the left bank of the Rhine in March, 1936, and the end of his service at the Foreign Office in February, 1938—the Second World War might have been prevented.

This time Britain is going much further than the commitment under NATO. Four British divisions, instead of the one provided for under EDC, are to be maintained. In accepting the decision of the Brussels Treaty powers in advance, London is in effect renouncing some part of its national sovereignty. And although the promise of Secretary Dulles to recommend to President Eisenhower renewal of the military guarantee given on April 16 to the EDC played an important role, the British undertaking in Europe is quite separate from that of the US.

Britain has thus given France a promise which the statesmen of that country have been seeking in vain for more than half a century. Mendès-France has, in fact, won precisely that which his immediate predecessors in office—and his worst enemies now—tried and failed to get. And Konrad Adenauer not only hailed a closer link between Britain and the continent than has, he said, existed for centuries. He also spoke in a friendly manner about the present French Premier who until recently was supposed to be his pet aversion. It is one of the oddities of the new situation that the German Chancellor has become—since the British guarantee—more sympathetic to the French demand for an *ersatz* Europeanism under the Brussels treaty than any of the other delegates at the London conference.

The Final Act of the London Conference restores West German's sovereignty and admits her to NATO as well as to the new Brussels Treaty Organization. Germany in return has forsworn manufacture of biological and atomic weapons, guided missiles, large naval vessels, submarines and bombers, and promised not to use force in attempting re-unification or modification of existing frontiers. The Brussels Treaty Organization (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg) will set up an agency to control the size of military forces and the production of armaments of its continental members. Command of practically all forces on the continent will be vested in NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, thus revitalizing that organization and giving its commander tremendous power.

THE CONFERENCE has made history, but it remains to be seen whether, as a result, the Western Europe of the future is to be made. The real test is in the Assembly in Paris.

The vote in the Assembly is likely to be on the man, less than on what he has brought back with him from London. Almost certainly against him are the Communists, the neutralists (after his interview with the *US News and World Report*), a minority of Gaullists (Social Republicans), Radical Socialists and various Rightist

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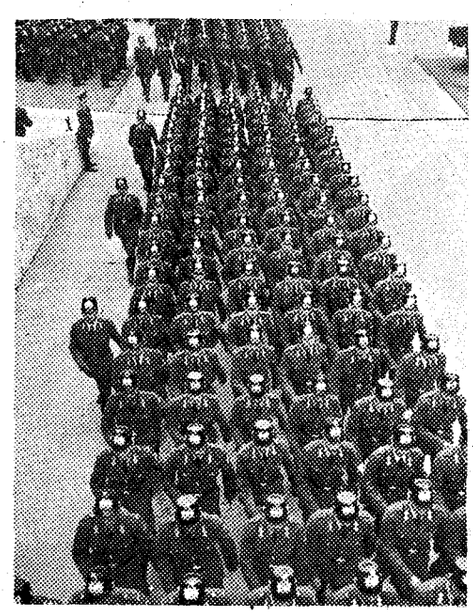
groups. Probably against him are the Europeanist "mystics" and diehards which means practically all the MRP (Popular Republicans) and rather less than half of the Socialists, a number of members of smaller parties, such as the Independent Republicans (including the former Premiers Pinay, Reynaud and Laniel) and the ex-Gaullist ARS (Republican and Social Action).

Probably for him are a majority of the Gaullists, Radical Socialists and Rightists with some members of small Center groups. Their total should be in the neighborhood of 250, far from enough to win a vote of confidence. The balance which will decide is made up of the other Socialists, perhaps a few MRP members and also some members of Rightist groups. On the last occasion, 53 Socialists voted for Mendès-France, 50 against. The party is now divided on the personal issue of the man, much as British Labour is on the issue of German rearmament. And the division is an even greater threat to the party's future development: French parties, even the Socialist, can split more easily than British parties. A few formerly pro-EDC Socialists have already gone over to the Communists; they maintain that a West German army, not integrated as it would have been in EDC, is the worst of possible evils. And sanctions against anti-EDC Socialists are still being taken.

In the Bundestag, the situation is simpler, though not necessarily easier. Erich Ollenhauer and his Social Democrats are more than ever bitter against Adenauer since his refusal to permit the debate on foreign policy. There is not much chance, however, that they can muster the votes to upset Adenauer. His danger is from within his own coalition; and increasingly of late, within his own party. There is a rumor—which cannot of course be confirmed—that important elements at the Vatican have recently been turning cool about the Chancellor as they did about Alcide de Gasperi during his last years in office. Adenauer is accused by the Jesuits (so the story goes) of having "weakened" on the issue of "free" schools; to be too willing to make compromises with Protestant leaders of the German unity movement. And after the death of EDC, there is talk in church circles in Bavaria, Oldenburg and Baden-Wurtemberg of replacement of Adenauer as the "chosen instrument" of Christian Europe.

All this may well be quite untrue. But it is significant that Adenauer is being attacked by a whispering campaign—and in staunchly Catholic parts of West Germany. The purpose of the campaign may be to hint in the Bundestag when the Chancellor returns from London that Mendès-France has won.



If it succeeds, there will be reason for good Europeans—or good Germans—to weep. It has taken the sentimentalists and impatient a long while to appreciate that nationalism in Europe (and certainly in France and Germany) is far from dead. The choice is between the sensible nationalisms of the diplomats who met in London—and national prides which block all efforts at rapprochement.

To aid them in their fight for approval of the Final Act, both Adenauer and Mendès-France can claim victory at London. Indeed, the thing that sets this conference apart from others in recent years is that none of the major participants need return home to explain why he was defeated. Eden can take credit for having fashioned from the wreckage of the European Defense Community a joint defense structure stronger than the EDC would have been. Dulles, who this time checked his big stick at the door and exerted his power in the service of compromise, has provided his party with a diplomatic success to which it can point during the campaign. Adenauer has capped the postwar saga of German revival by bringing his country into the Western Alliance as a full partner. And Mendès-France has not only extracted German pledges to restrict armaments and their use as well as a control plan designed to enforce those pledges, he also has brought England onto the continent as a political and military balancing force in a way long considered impossible.

Mendès-France faces a more complex battle than does Adenauer. And it is to be hoped that the new wisdom Dulles demonstrated at London will remain with him after he gets home. For during the coming months excessive warmth from Washington could be as damaging to Mendès-France as excessive coldness. The alternating hot and cold blasts from the master strategists of the US (inside and outside the Department of State) have given the French fevers and chills in turn. But judging from past performance, it is more likely that once Dulles is back among his colleagues he will be tempted to fall back upon "tough-talk" as the best means to make the voter believe that the Administration is indeed "boss" of the Alliance.

A new Russian initiative must now be anticipated. The Communist Party in France will not be idle. To gather the strength he must have to overcome the combined forces of his left-and-right-wing enemies, Mendès-France may have to ask for another compromise or two on detail. And there is still the Saar whose future must be settled by Germany and France. The eventual fate of the London Revival may well depend on what is now said and done in Washington.

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"We Cannot Call Our Souls Our Own"—the Story of a Utilities Executive with a Conscience

New Light on Dixon-Yates

by Michael Straight

At 2:30 p.m. on Tuesday, September 28, the Senate Subcommittee on Monopoly of the Judiciary Committee was called to order in a small room of the Senate Office Building. William Langer of North Dakota presided at the end of the green felt table. At his right was Sidney Davis, a former official of the Anti-trust Division of the Department of Justice. Next to Davis was Estes Kefauver who had interrupted a campaign tour in the West to be present. Across from Kefauver was a heavy-set, bald-headed Southerner, clasping an alligator leather briefcase bulging with records. The Southerner, James Dowds Stietenroth of Jackson, Mississippi, was sworn as a witness. He raised a prepared statement and began to read. But another Senator, John M. Butler of Maryland was also present. Butler intervened to stop the testimony.

> SENATOR BUTLER: I am here representing the distinguished Senator from Illinois (Everett Dirksen). I feel that these hearings, if they are to deal with the Dixon-Yates matter are premature. . . . I say this to the committee before you start your investigation. There is not one thing that the subcommittee can do in any way to expedite change or stop the Dixon-Yates contract. That has been approved by Congress; its provisions have been specifically declared to be perfectly legal and valid by amendments offered in the Senate and approved by the House, and now embodied in law and signed by the President of the United States.

No mention whatever had been made until then of the Dixon-Yates contract. But seated at the back of the room, in the company of his lawyers, was Edgar H. Dixon, President of Ebasco Services Incorporated, a subsidiary of the Electric Bond and Share Company. Ebasco in turn was principal shareholder in Middle South Utilities Inc. and Middle South was the only common stockholder in four operating utility companies—Arkansas Power and Light; Louisiana Power and Light; Mississippi Power and Light and New Orleans Public Service. It was Edgar Dixon who with E. A. Yates had formed a syndicate to build a steam plant in Arkansas at government expense to feed private power into the TVA system. Stietenroth in turn was a lifelong employee of Mississippi Power and Light who had risen to be secretary-treasurer and then at last rebelled against the misuse by Dixon of his absentee power. Implicit in the charges, made publicly by Stietenroth, were excessive exploitation of consumers, doubtful accounting practices and possible violations of the Holding Company Act. It was to prevent testimony on these issues that Senator Butler came to Room 424 as a representative of Senator Dirksen who is also Chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee.

Butler, in fact, made it plain that he was speaking for the Administration. "Insofar as I know, and insofar as anybody in the Administration knows," he shouted, "there is nothing wrong with the Dixon-Yates contract." He demanded the right to produce witnesses to "refute" any statements made by Stietenroth or other witnesses that might "reflect upon the persons who negotiated the Dixon-Yates contract." And when the Chairman declined to make this commitment Butler broke in again.

> SENATOR BUTLER: Is this the subcommittee that the Congress refused the funds for?

Three times more, in the next two days Butler interrupted to imply that the committee was operating without the consent of the Senate. It was true that funds were lacking even to pay the counsel's salary or the expenses of the witnesses. Davis, a former law clerk of Justice Hugo Black, was working for no salary. How long Stietenroth could last no one knew. "If I tell all I know it'll take me two months," he told newsmen.

Stietenroth was a bible-reading, native-born Mississippian whose hobbies were entertaining audiences as an amateur magician and running a ham radio station. He was also a public accountant who went to work in 1928 for Mississippi Power and Light. He rose from credit manager to secretary-treasurer with the title "Principal Financial and Accounting Officer of the Company." But the title was a fraud. "Not a single principal officer or director of Mississippi Power and Light," he declared in the public statement on September 20 that marked his break, "is permitted to exercise the full powers and prerogatives or perform the duties of his office. . . . We cannot call our souls our own." This,

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together with the conviction that the New York directors of Middle South were destroying the company by excessive exploitation led Stientenroth to revolt.

Mississippi Power and Light was created in 1927. Its assets, at that time, according to Stietenroth, were written up by $10 million. But while the new company paid dividends on the basis of this inflated stock, it paid taxes on its old property base which the Bureau of Internal Revenue continued to accept. The system was perpetuated, according to Stietenroth, by dual bookkeeping. In his statement of September 18 Stietenroth declared:

> Mississippi Power and Light Company has at least two sets of books, one of which is the regular corporate books which are kept in Jackson, Mississippi and the other is the tax books which are kept by Ebasco Services Inc., 2 Rector Street, New York.
>
> Mississippi Power and Light Company does not now and it never has . . . since 1927 prepared its own tax return. As a matter of fact Mississippi Power and Light Company not only has never been permitted to employ competent persons to handle its income-tax work but even if it had competent people . . . it would be absolutely impossible for us to prepare our income tax returns because we have never been able to get the tax books away from Ebasco Services, Inc., or Electric Bond and Share Company.

Under the law Stietenroth as secretary-treasurer had primary responsibility for the company books. He was responsible for issuing checks, for handling security issues, for auditing and approving financial statements and accounts and for signing and certifying all tax returns. And Stietenroth's execution of these responsibilities became not only an administrative right but a legal duty after 1935 when Congress enacted the Public Utility Holding Act. The Act was written to put an end to the abuses of absentee ownership and it required utility operations to physically integrated properties with responsible management. Middle South, however, controlled Stietenroth's salary, his pension and his insurance and all these could be cancelled. So he testified.

> MR. STIETENROTH: I was forced to live a life of deceit and hypocrisy when I pretended to be "the principal financial and accounting officer of the company" when in truth the powers and prerogatives of my offices had in large measure been usurped by others.

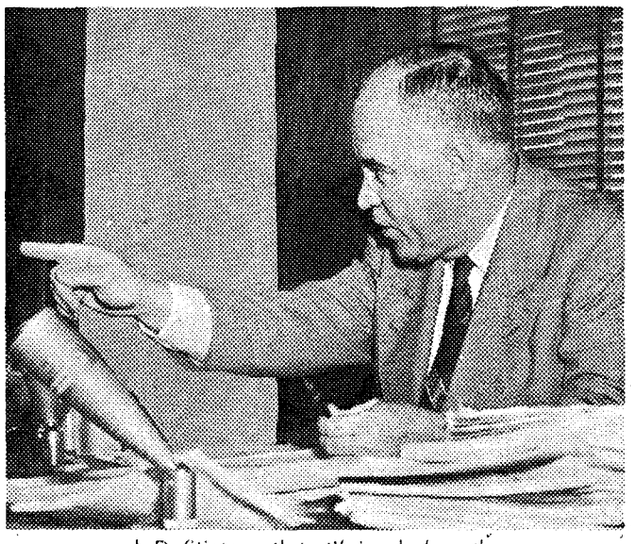
Didn't the Holding Company Act bring about any changes in the status of local and responsible management, asked the Committee Counsel. "Well, in the beginning, yes," said Stietenroth. The next day he added:

> MR. STIETENROTH: There was a time about 1935 and a few years thereafter when these good folks up there said to us, "We suggest with deference for your consideration," that they meant pretty well just what they said. It was just those words as you would interpret them out of the dictionary. But as the years have gone on and on . . . it got so "We suggest with deference for your consideration" was just literally and simply being wrapped up in a lead pipe.

The Holding Company Act required holding companies to bargain at arms length with their operating subsidiaries. But Stietenroth testified that there was no bargaining at all. He was called on to sign blank income-tax returns without knowing what he had certified as income and property. He was induced to file registration certificates for new issues with the Securities and Exchange Commission which he protested as being misleading. (He declined to sign his name to one certificate and yet it was still approved by the SEC). Stietenroth was compelled further to sit and watch as funds were shuffled from reserve to surplus and back in order to increase dividends for the holding company, if necessary at the expense of reserves set aside for accrued tax liabilities. In these cases the operating company was left with the harsh task of seeking increased rates to recover its tax reserves.

THUS in 1954 the four operating companies were summoned to New York and told to transfer all sums from the reserve amounts not needed for accrued tax liabilities to surplus and thus to the common stock of Middle South. Conceding their ignorance of the state of their finances, the operating heads of the Louisiana and Arkansas companies agreed. Stietenroth balked, but of the $1,400,000 paid in to Mississippi's reserves more than $1 million was transferred. "You will not find it ever described in our records," Stietenroth testified, "because we avoid it like poison." This touched off an exchange:

> SENATOR KEFAUVER: Is not this a direct violation of the purpose, intent and the letter of the law of the Holding Company Act?
>
> SENATOR BUTLER: I think this witness said he is a layman.
>
> SENATOR KEFAUVER: He said he had two LLB de-



J. D. Stietenroth testifying before the Senate Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee.

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grees. What is your opinion about it? You are a utility man.

MR. STIETENROTH: Sir, I think the way we have operated down there is certainly in violation of the spirit of the Holding Company Act of 1935.

In Stietenroth's view Edgar Dixon and his associates ran the company for their own selfish benefit. He testified that excessive salaries of $50,000 a year together with $1,000 a month in pension allowances were paid to company officials. He added that two lodges together with furniture, caretakers and bills for food and liquor costing $200,000 were carried in the accounts as "Electric Plant in Service." He maintained that entertainment costs ran up to $25,000 for single parties, all paid for by the farmers of Western Mississippi. He held that these consumers of the Mississippi Power and Light Company paid two to three million dollars more each year than consumers in Southeastern Mississippi where the Mississippi Power Company set the rates.

MR. STIETENROTH: . . . There is nothing so sure as death, taxes and tribute to the Electric Bond and Share Company if you live in the "tri-state colonial empire." They have found their way to put their hands into the people's pockets—by electric rates.

The equity stock on which Middle South drew its dividend income was less than $2 million according to Mr. Stietenroth. And excessive dividends paid on this small base would have lead to rate reductions. Middle South's way around the barrier, according to Mr. Stietenroth, was to transfer $3 million from the company's surplus to its capital account where it was distributed among the stockholders of Middle South for a fraction of its stated value per share. Thus, according to Mr. Stietenroth the directors shifted the tax burden to the consumers and doubled their dividend base.

MR. STIETENROTH: Middle South Utilities, Inc.—old nine percenter itself—is not only getting nine percent per annum dividends on the money that it has invested in the company; it is also being paid a nine percent per annum dividend on $3 million or more that it did not invest in the company.

In prewar years according to Stietenroth the company avoided bankruptcy by starving its depreciation reserves, an action acquiesed in by the Federal Power Commission. After the war, however, nine-percent dividends became the rule. Stietenroth protested to Mr. Paul Canaday, Vice President of the holding company that nine percent dividends were unwise.

MR. STIETENROTH: Mr. (R. B.) Wilson and I were shocked to think that we were going to undertake to pay such a dividend. We argued that we could not do it. . . . Mr. Canady was exasperated with us. To lend emphasis to his words he just sort of set aside the papers that he had and . . . said, "You have said that you do not know whether or not you can pay nine percent or not . . . well, frankly I do not know either, but I will tell you one thing. We are going to find out because we are going to try. And I will tell you something else. If the old cow can't give the milk we will just butcher her."

MR. DAVIS: Who was the old cow?

MR. STIETENROTH: The old cow was the Mississippi Power and Light Company.

Attitudes such as this broke the health of Mr. Stietenroth's predecessor—or so he said. They brought him to breaking point with Mr. Dixon and his holding company during the months in which President Eisenhower, Admiral Strauss, Sherman Adams and Rowland Hughes, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, were engaged in setting Mr. Dixon, as a pillar of private enterprise, over the TVA. Mr. Stietenroth read the contract that was kept secret from the public and from TVA. He realized that the reason for secrecy was that it granted too much to Edgar Dixon.

MR. STIETENROTH: What frightened me was this: Middle South has participated in the Joppa Plant contracted by Electric Energy Incorporated. . . . They assumed certain liabilities under their contract . . . and they turned around and assigned those liabilities to all of the subsidiaries. . . . Now . . . on Dixon-Yates . . . if it turned out to be a . . . gold mine then Middle South could keep it for themselves. But if it turned out to be a white elephant . . . they could have suggested to these several operating companies that they step in and take up the liabilities under the contract . . . and thus pass it on to the rate payers in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi. . . .

For different reasons newspapers in the TVA region shared Mr. Stietenroth's view on the Dixon-Yates deal. That called for action by Mr. Dixon's subsidiaries.

MR. DAVIS: Has any effort been made to get Mississippi Power and Light Company to spend some money to propagandize for the . . . Dixon-Yates contract?

MR. STIETENROTH: . . . . Mr. William T. Wynn, a director of the Mississippi Power and Light Company and a director of the Middle South Utilities Corporation . . . made the proposal . . . that either the company or the group should establish a fund of $125,000 to buy advertising space in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* and in the Memphis papers to tell the people the truth about the Dixon-Yates deal in view of the fact that the Commercial Appeal has been antagonistic to the plan.

Mr. Stietenroth didn't say what happened to the proposal. But he did add that the directors of the Mississippi Company held always that what was good for Middle South was good for them. And he did ask Edgar Dixon's assistant, Mr. Paul Hallingby, how the contract was coming along.

MR. STIETENROTH: He volunteered something about like this . . . "it is on the rails and the rails are greased."

MR. DAVIS: And the rails are greased?

MR. STIETENROTH: Greased. . . . He was telling me that it was just a matter of time. . . .

(to be continued next week)

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The Congress of the United States earlier this year revised the Pledge of Allegiance to include the phrase "under God". Below, an educator personally committed to a religious view of life discusses the current identification of loyalty with affirmations of piety.

Religious Faith and Loyalty

by Hoxie N. Fairchild

THERE are religious as well as constitutional grounds for objecting to the increasingly popular habit of regarding religious conformity as a touchstone of loyalty to democratic institutions. It is a sign of the times that I lack the courage to support this statement without first asserting that I have never been, am not now, and feel completely certain that I never shall be a Communist or fellow-traveler. What a "pink" may be I know no more than does Senator McCarthy, but I doubt whether the term is applicable to me. I do not approve of abolishing the Fifth Amendment, but I see no likelihood that I shall ever need its protection. Politically I am a liberal Democrat—somewhat divided, like most eggheads, between a passion for individual freedom and a recognition of the need for suprapersonal social controls. Although interested in such problems I have a considerable gift for minding my own business, which is that of a professor of English literature. I am a maimed and beribboned veteran of World War I. In the Second, I did no more than a uselessly loyal citizen might be expected to do—bought bonds, gave blood, served as a Civil Defense warden, tried to keep my own little segment of free civilization alive and clean.

To cap the climax of this tale of innocence, I am a faithful and fairly active Episcopalian layman, a trustee of my Anglo-Catholic parish. Reviewers of my scholarly writings have sometimes objected to their uncompromisingly Christian temper. Recently I have busied myself in the movement to enhance the status of religion in higher education. I detest Communism not so much because I believe in properly controlled free enterprise as because I believe in the sacredness of man as the child of God.

Any American who has reached the age of 60 must have observed a considerable upsurge of religion in this country during the past 30-odd years. Whether the movement is a retreat from reason or a rediscovery of that which alone makes reason possible is a debatable question. In either case the fact remains that more and more of us have felt the need of God and have affirmed their conviction that historic Christianity tells the truth about God and His relations with man. The Catholic Church has made immense gains in the number of its communicants and in its spiritual influence. Protestantism, which in my boyhood seemed to be spiritually and intellectually bankrupt, has been moving away from sentimental humanism in the direction of Christian theology. All the principal sects have flourished. More and more people appear to know that religion does not mean persuading the less attractive young people of the community to dance with one another in drearily wholesome surroundings, but that it means the quest for union with supernatural realities.

Even unbelievers are acquiring a clearer notion of what it is they do not believe; they are more interested in religion and less contemptuous of its claims to provide a valid interpretation of human experience. To a member of the academic profession the shrinking of the chasm between intellectual and spiritual life is especially striking. Religion flourishes as an independent cultural discipline in our colleges and universities, and its relevance for almost all fields of secular learning is recognized far more generously than of old. Similar changes have occurred in non-academic intellectual circles.

Up to a few years ago, even an unsympathetic observer would have granted that all this had taken place spontaneously and in an atmosphere of mental and bodily freedom. But more recently the hitherto gradual trend toward religious affirmation has been immensely accelerated and popularized by the Communist peril. There is a widespread campaign to convince the public that since all Communists are atheists by definition, all thoroughly patriotic Americans should believe in God. This whopping *non sequitur* is promulgated more or less explicitly by official and unofficial spokesmen of religious denominations and by some proponents of the religious education movement. It adds unction to many political speeches and commencement addresses. It is a persistent theme in the programs of veterans' organizations, patriotic societies, service clubs, and so on. God's public relations have never been more expertly handled.

The attempt to establish a 100-percent correlation between loyalty and religiosity is naturally offensive to patriotic unbelievers. I wish it were equally offensive to

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patriotic believers. But for practical-minded American Christians this new way of pushing their neighbors into the fold is almost irresistibly workable. "Say your prayers and smash the Commies!" The slogan "has everything"—red-blooded pugnacity, patriotism, pragmatic idealism, good old-fashioned piety.

TO EXPRESS distaste for this device of spiritual salesmanship is not to deny that the purely religious aspects of the present crisis may quite legitimately be exploited by the Christian propagandist. Assuredly these are days when every Christian should gather up all the faith he possesses, use it with all his might in his own life, and try by precept and example to recommend it to the secularist. Throughout the as-yet-free world the Christian Church is the strongest bulwark against Communism both on the national level and in the lives of most individuals. The persecution of the Church in Soviet Russia and her satellites shows no less clearly an absolute antithesis between Communism and Christianity; hence the agnostic who desires a basis both rational and inspiring for his sense of the dignity and worth of the human spirit may hopefully be invited to reconsider Christianity as a philosophy and a way of living.

But the fact that Communists hate both democracy and Christianity does not prove that Christianity is true nor that all Americans should be Christians: it merely suggests that Christianity deserves to be thought about. Having thought about it, the inquirer should be perfectly free to decide that an enlightened secular humanism provides a surer way of defending himself against one oppression without subjecting himself to another. The Christian may present a good deal of historical evidence to show that humanism does not stay enlightened very long without the aid of supernaturalistic religion, but if this argument is rejected there is nothing further to be said. The slightest hint of coercive pressure in the supposed best interests of society would offend not only the spirit of the Constitution but the spirit of true religion. During the nineteenth century, the unwillingness of most Christians to let other people think and act as they pleased did far more than "science" to alienate intelligent and courageous men from organized religion.

In a period of crisis, the temptation to strengthen religion by applying non-religious pressures is one of the Devil's most ingenious and complicated snares. He used it with immense success after the French Revolution, when he devitalized a potentially wholesome reaction against deism and atheism by scaring the European nations into thinking of Christianity primarily as a socio-political obligation rather than as a religion. He is now reviving the trick in circumstances which make it especially hard to remember that the only respectable reason for professing a religion is the conviction that it is true—not expedient or even beneficial, but *true*. You can persuade a man to come to church on clear Sundays because it "pays off." It is good for his morale, good for his business and social contacts, good for his reputation as an adherent of the "American way of life"—good for all sorts of things that have nothing to do with the need of union with Almighty God. You do not thereby make him either a good Christian or a good American. Good Americans are perfectly free to stay at home or go to church. If they happen also to be good Christians or good Jews, they go to church or synagogue solely to worship the God in whom they believe.

Doubtless non-spiritual factors have been present throughout the religious revival of the past few decades. The danger is that the present crisis will so greatly enhance the potency of those factors that the genuinely religious motivation which has also been at work in the movement will be drowned in a flood of pious McCarthyism. Of course there is no evidence whatever that the passion for human liberty burns more ardently among Christians than among secularists. The honest Christian must admit, indeed, that there is an embarrassingly large amount of evidence to the contrary. Probably we need not fear that failure to be "religious" will ever be accepted in this country as sufficient proof of a citizen's disloyalty, but I have met persons recently who use "atheist" and "Communist" as interchangeable terms. And although such mental defectives are exceptional, many sane people already regard the churchgoer as at least a *better* security risk than the non-churchgoer.

THIS profoundly un-American principle is subject to further refinements. Our patriotic pietists often apply the term "religion" to a vaguely sentimental humanitarianism, but sooner or later it becomes apparent that they identify this spiritually impotent but socially powerful nostrum with Christianity. Now if Christianity, however, hazily conceived, is the most American sort of religion, it follows that Christians are better Americans than Jews. More precise thinkers along these lines would gladly undertake to show not only that Christianity is more patriotic than Judaism but that one sort of Christianity is more patriotic than another.

It is only quite recently that conservative politicians, business executives, and patriotic organizations have fully appreciated the usefulness of religion as a means of upholding their somewhat restricted conception of the "American way of life" against Communism. To qualify as allies in this cause, Christian clergymen must abandon their old subversive habit of condemning the inequities of capitalistic society. That the need for investigating their pinkness has greatly diminished is indicated by the story on the Evanston conference in the *New York Times* for August 29, 1954:

> The World Council of Churches gave a clean bill of health here today to the "responsible" free enterprise system. It also called on its member bodies in 48 countries to take a "fresh" look at the "importance of relative freedom in enterprise" and a "relatively free price system." Its announcement today was in sharp contrast

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to one it made six years ago at its founding assembly in Amsterdam. It then condemned both Communism and what it then described as *"laissez-faire"* capitalism.

Much can happen in six years. I have no doubt that the conscious motives of the men who drafted this statement were religious, and that the words "responsible" and "relative" mean something important both for Christianity and for democracy. What chiefly impresses me, however, is the almost uncanny convenience of this change of front. Just when those who oppose Communism almost wholly on economic grounds begin to feel the need of a little religious flavoring, those who oppose Communism on religious grounds discover that after all there is much to be said for free enterprise. In the light of such a *rapprochement,* what hard heart can resist the conclusion that Providence has been at work in Evanston? What loyal American can any longer refuse to be a Christian?

But the subject is too serious for sarcasm. Far from injuring the Reds, the pious McCarthyism of the "Say your prayers and smash the Commies" campaign will benefit them by diminishing the authentically spiritual element in the twentieth-century religious revival. Its coercive taint will make it more difficult than ever for intelligent freedom-loving secularists to work their way back into the church.

Genuine Christians have genuinely Christian reasons for detesting Communism, but they have no right to insist that their feelings should be shared by the American people as a whole. We are not officially a Christian nation. A few vestigial remains of late-eighteenth-century rhetoric lend faint color to the theory that the United States is officially committed to some sort of theism. But belief in God is neither so ardent nor so widespread among us as to constitute a common basis for thought and action, and it cannot be made so by a publicity drive. God calls men to Him one by one. He cannot be hurried by any crisis; He is not to be made the tool of even the worthiest cause. If actual hostilities should break out, which God forbid, we Americans would be in a position to fight a humanly decent war, but certainly not a holy one. We are not holy enough for that.

It is of the very essence of the "American way of life" that no man *must* believe in God, that no man had better go to church *or else.* Denial of this freedom is not yet explicit in our society, but I fear that it may be implicit in the present trend of factitiously patriotic religiosity. The truly American objection to the state of religion behind the Iron Curtain is not that Christians are persecuted there, but that Communism does not grant men the right to choose freely between belief and unbelief. On that issue all loyal Americans, believers and unbelievers, may indignantly unite; but they cannot do so without hypocrisy unless they maintain more jealously than ever their traditions of religious liberty and the separation of Church and State. Those traditions are good for democracy, and they are better for religion than some Christians at present appear to realize.

Whose Man Is Knowland?

by Wilfred Binkley

THE RECENT audacity—effrontery?—of Sen. William Knowland in making public, before President Eisenhower had received it, his telegram urging that diplomatic relations with Russia be broken off raises a question: just what is the role of the Republican Majority Leader of the Senate in a Republican Administration; why does Knowland embarrass the President and the State Department in the very midst of the outstanding international crisis of our history?

To explain Knowland's conduct one must look at the very nature of the American party system. His actions are conditioned by an intra-party struggle for control of the Republican Party in California with no less a figure than the Vice President of the United States.

Wilfred E. Binkley, professor of history and political science at Ohio Northern University and former Republican mayor of Ada, Ohio, is the author of The President and Congress.

The meteoric rise of the Vice President is naturally a challenge to the Majority Floor Leader of the Senate. To the consternation of the Knowland faction this incredible youth is being hailed as a veritable Crown Prince ready for the succession in two short years if only the President wearies of the great office. "Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed, that he is grown so great." To be sure Nixon is no Caesar, but in a party not overly supplied with outstanding leaders, the energetic young Vice President is conspicuous indeed and certainly a perplexing personal problem to the Senior Senator from California.

For a long, long generation California has been under the shadow of the "yellow peril"—until a decade ago it was the Japanese, now it is the Chinese. This genuine danger has created a super patriotic element which is powerful enough to constitute a balance of electoral power in California, and must therefore be appeased by spectacular outbursts from competing politicians. Such is the electoral leverage of this group in a single state that it limits the freedom of the national Secretary of State to

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negotiate, on a basis of national security requirements, questions involving the future of the United States if not civilization itself. And the Majority Floor Leader of the Senate has been diverted from his major function by distracting side issues and problems.

WHAT is a Senate Majority Leader's proper role? During the last 10 years two exceptional Majority Leaders, Sen. Alben Barkley and Sen. Robert A. Taft, demonstrated that the Majority Leader of the Senate can efficiently co-ordinate the legislative function of the Senate majority with the program of its President.

This does not mean that the Majority Leader must be the President's abject servant. Barkley was certainly not that when, in 1944, President Roosevelt vetoed a revenue bill with the criticism, "It is not a tax bill, but a tax relief bill providing relief not for the needy but for the greedy."

Barkley the next day denounced that veto message as "a calculated and deliberate assault upon the legislative integrity of every member of Congress. Other members of Congress may do as they please, but as for me, I do not propose to take this unjustifiable assault lying down." He resigned as Majority Leader, was promptly re-elected by the Democratic caucus, and, having made his point, returned to his duties as a party leader, faithfully co-operating with his President.

Perhaps Kentucky is a better environment than California for rearing a Majority Floor Leader. At any rate Barkley, as a border state Senator, was an expert mediator between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic Party. As Majority Leader of the Senate for 10 years he won the respect of all factions of both parties for perfect fairness, good humor, and serene patience. He developed an almost clairvoyant perception of the possible in legislation. When tempers rose he could relieve tensions with a joke or a gentle whimsicality and thus became a master broker between clashing interests—the hallmark of the capable statesman.

Senator Taft contrasted with Barkley in almost every particular, but in his own way he was, during his several months as Majority Leader in 1953, as capable as Barkley. Taft had the profound conviction—apparently lacking in Knowland—that the Republican Party was an absolutely indispensable means of preserving the American way. He had simply dedicated himself to the renaissance and maintenance of the Republican Party. Like Barkley he was adept at working out legislative compromises and thus he provided a centripetal force in the Republican Party, one it sadly needs today.

Nor was Taft a whit more servile than Barkley had been in relation to the President. He pronounced Eisenhower's appointment of a Secretary of Labor "incredible." Once in a White House conference when some one suggested appointing a general as head of the Veterans' Administration Taft snapped "No, no! No more generals! No more generals!" as he looked directly at the President. Taft was as unsympathetic as Knowland is with the general international policies of Eisenhower—he had even voted against EDC—but he did not indulge in erratic sniping at those policies—that would have been damaging to the party. Responsibility characterized his Senate leadership and so effectively did he play his part that Walter Lippmann pronounced him the President's "prime minister."

Significantly, Taft could devote his entire attention to his duty as Floor Leader. No raucous element at home diverted his attention from his work. After his re-election to the Senate in 1950 by a 430,000 majority his prestige was at a peak. When the mantle of Taft fell upon the preoccupied Knowland a change in the character of the leadership became inevitable.

The difficulty is that such admirable co-ordinating leadership as Barkley and Taft provided has never been institutionalized as has the British prime ministry. Nor can it be done by any formal legislation.

Senator Knowland can behave as he does because of the nature of our political parties. Unlike Britain we simply do not have genuine national parties. Instead we have extraordinarily loose associations or federations of local and state parties. Scholars in the field of politics long ago noted that it is the election of the President that unites the scattered elements quadrennially in a gigantic collective effort after which they resume their concern with local and state politics. The Presidency with its enormous prestige and power is the grand prize that motivates the collective spasm. It is inherent in the very nature of national government that the executive must provide the initiative for a legislative program which, however, only Congress can enact. This is what John Stuart Mill meant when he said that while a legislature is the best way to get good laws, it is the poorest kind of a body to make them—an exaggeration, of course, but significantly Presidents more and more attach to legislative proposals a suggested draft of a bill.

WHILE the President, now recognized by the people as "Chief Legislator," is engrossed in the legislative program he believes will capture the approval of the electorate and maintain his party in power, the typical Senator and Representative tends to give this only secondary attention. He is busy "nursing his constituency" and calculating how he can be re-elected, which is natural and necessary if we are to maintain representative government. The consequence of this deep concern for the "district" is that, so far as national issues are concerned, party affiliation is nominal rather than real.

Senate Majority Leader Knowland is a normal product of our unintegrated political parties. And those parties are likely to continue producing more leaders of that type than of Barkley's or Taft's—at least until they have become truly national in character—which seems to happen only under the dynamic leadership of such Presidents as Wilson and the two Roosevelts.

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The Superficial Aspect

THE Watkins Committee did not bell the cat. Oh, yes, it hung one on McCarthy and he will henceforth go a-tinkling, regardless of what the full Senate does November 8; but McCarthy never was the cat. Much as he terrified the mice, he was only a simulacrum, an eidolon of the gaunt and sinewy old Tom with needle-sharp claws and battle-torn ears who is a danger to men as well as mice.

This formidable alley-ranger is no Senator, no individual, no incarnation. It is a defect inherent in our system of government that McCarthy's activities did not create but merely revealed. That system is based upon a complicated arrangement of checks and balances and the prowling menace that haunts it is the possibility that one of the opposing forces may give way and upset the balance. Against this menace the Watkins Committee did, and could do, nothing effective. The only force that can bell that cat is the power of public opinion.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS carefully distributed the powers of government among the legislative, the executive and the judiciary on the theory that each of the three would serve as a check upon the others and the resultant would be stability without tyranny. The underlying assumption was that each branch would have the power and the will to resist encroachments by the others; and the inherent defect in the system is the possibility that the assumption may be wrong.

That has been the trouble for the past two years. General Zwicker and Senator Hendrickson were not the chief victims of McCarthy's tactics. Zwicker was insulted, but not really hurt by being told that he is unfit to wear the uniform; Tom Paine implied as much about George Washington. Hendrickson disliked being called a "gutless and brainless wonder" but Sumner called Douglas "a nameless, squat and noisome animal" without doing Douglas any material damage.

The chief victims were the foreign service and the army, too important elements of the executive branch. Competent observers report that the efficiency of the foreign service and the morale of the army have both been heavily reduced by McCarthy's assaults, and if this is true it means that the executive has been weakened relatively to the other branches. When one branch is weakened the balance is disturbed and the evil effects are felt far beyond the departments of State and Defense.

This happened not because the executive has been stripped of any of its constitutional powers, but because the will to resist encroachments was lacking. The will was lacking because the executive is headed by a man who came into office imperfectly acquainted with the realities of politics. President Eisenhower entered to the White House wedded to the charming but insubstantial myth that the government is a team; and only after two years does he seem to be realizing that the government is normally a cat-fight. In the interim, he has lost so much fur it is doubtful that the original sleekness of his coat can ever be restored.

But the question of maintaining the balance was not before the Watkins Committee, which was interested only in determining whether a certain Senator had exceeded the bounds of decorum. The larger question is before the public, for it is possible to throw the American system out of balance without resort to the crudities that provoke censure.

John Marshall's dictum that "the power to tax involves the power to destroy" has been modified by Holmes' observation from the same bench: "not while this court sits." McCarthy has demonstrated that the power to investigate may involve the power to destroy, and as between co-ordinate branches of the government no court sits.

NEVERTHELESS, although the question of the balance of powers is not justiciable in the ordinary sense, it is not beyond the reach of all authority. The decision of public opinion is binding where the writ of the Supreme Court does not run. If the Senate as a body or in the person of an individual Senator is encroaching upon and damaging the prerogative of the executive, public opinion may restore the balance either by restricting the power of the Senate or by increasing the power of the executive.

The latter is by far the simpler procedure. To restrict the power of the Senate by constitutional amendment would be slow and difficult, even if it were desirable which is very definitely open to doubt. It would be easier, simpler and safer to restore the balance by putting another Andrew Jackson in the White House.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

A Lyric is a Sometime Thing

by Hal Levy

FROM an LP record player in the corner a voice sings:

I'm wild again, beguiled again,
A simpering, whimpering child again
Bewitched, bothered and bewildered
am I.[1]

A man leans back, shakes his head. "Noooo," he says, "they don't write 'em like Larry Hart anymore."

Someone disagrees. Argument. The radio is switched on, and *voila*! The current hit,

Life could be a dream, sh-boom,
If I could take you up in Paradise up
above, sh-boom.[2]

"Hah!" explodes the critic. "See what I mean?"

Stop the music!

Let's get this argument on the right track. What *has* happened to the popular song in America?

First of all, it should be said that lyric writing didn't end with Larry Hart; there's even a small school of lyric lovers who feel that Hart was too smart, too rhyme-conscious, who prefer Porter, Harburg, Hammerstein and Loesser.

Granted, Hart's "Bewitched" is a good song and "Sh-boom" is a bad song, it doesn't prove that American popular culture has plummeted from the sublime to the ridiculous during the last fifteen or thirty years. But it does illustrate a difference between the not-too-distant past and the present. Those were the fat years, these are the lean. And there are reasons why.

Back in the bubbling thirties, each season brought anywhere from a half to a full dozen musicals to Broadway—a variety of outlets for the talents of the day — Gershwin, Hart, Hammerstein, Kern, Youmans, Berlin, Porter, Dietz, Harburg. And if only one or two songs stepped out of each show and stayed with audiences, that already was a solid block of good music and lyrics for the then current hit parade.

And while such tunes as "Love Is Sweeping the Country" were bouncing off Broadway, ("Waves are hugging the shore, all the sexes from Maine to Texas have never known such love before"[3]), out in Hollywood another flock of gifted songwriters were enjoying the lush days of film musicals.

Then too, there was a lively non-theatrical "pop" field, presided over by sincere and hard-working music publishers who gave encouragement, contracts and "advances" to up-and-coming young songwriters like Johnny Mercer. As a result, his "Goody-Goody," "Lazybones," "Lost," "Pardon My Southern Accent," "P.S. I Love You," "Bob White," and "Too Marvelous for Words," were among the hits of the day. Moreover, the people responsible for introducing songs to the public were not disc jockeys but the Tommy Dorseys, Benny Goodmans and Artie Shaws, men of high musical standards who took the good songs and made them into even better songs.

Now what about today?

Broadway? Nothing like it used to be. For sound economic reasons, cost-conscious producers think several times today before they put a musical on the boards. Each recent season has seen at most three or maybe four of these relatively expensive presentations (and one of them is probably a revival).

Hollywood? For years film musicals have been playing a scratchy second fiddle to the cowboy's guitar, though with the surge toward extravaganzas they may come back.

What about the "pop" field? Radios blare forth songs twenty-four hours a day. Almost everyone owns a record player, which according to some hopefuls, is a symptom of American cultural renaissance. Seems like there's a terrific market for the songwriter. And there is—but there don't seem to be so many good songs. What has happened?

For one thing, publishers in Tin Pan Alley aren't publishers any more. They don't pick songs, publish them, work on them, make hits. Publishers nowadays —they are the first ones to tearfully admit it—are largely errand boys. They carry songs to the record companies. If Mr. Big, known as the "A and R man" (Artists and Repertoire), likes the song and records it, then the publisher has something to work with, and he tries to turn it into a hit by "romancing" disc jockeys, trying to get "plugs" on radio and television shows, and otherwise promote the product.

The handful of A and R men, then, are the ones who say what songs shall be given the chance to be exposed. And the disc jockeys are the ones who do the exposing.

BUT, you still ask, what's the trouble? Don't A and R men have musical taste and background? The answer is yes. Most of them have been musicians, songwriters, conductors. They usually have been around the recording business for some time before ascending to the post of A and R chief. Most of them are well qualified for their jobs, musically quite learned and not lyrically illiterate.

But A and R men take no responsibility for the sordid state of popular music today. "We're not," they say, "in the business of raising public taste; we just put out what the public wants."

It's hard to see how or why they have let themselves be blackmailed by this low view of the public. Nobody can assume that in some sudden and mysterious way popular taste has dropped in fifteen or twenty years from the level where it was enjoying and making hits out of great songs down to the point where it not only accepts but popularizes such recent creations as "Doggie in the Window," "Ricochet Romance" and "Oh My Pa-pa."

No, the public alone should not be asked to take the rap. It can't like what it doesn't hear.

Furthermore, since there is no possible way of knowing in advance what will or won't appeal—for every sh-boom there are a hundred sh-busts—why not gamble with good writers.

Not that good songs don't sometimes pop up in the current market. They do, and some of them become hits. "Secret Love," "That's Amore," "The Man That Got Away," and "High Noon" came out of pictures. "Stranger in Paradise," "I Love Paris," and "No Other Love" came off Broadway. But

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practically nothing of any quality or potentially lasting popularity has come recently out of the "pop" field.

The writers represented by the above songs—Sammy Fain, Harry Warren, Harold Arlen, Ira Gershwin, Cole Porter, Oscar Hammerstein, Richard Rodgers—couldn't walk into a record company and get those songs recorded if they hadn't been in shows. In the case of two of those songs, even though they were given fine theatrical send-offs, the record companies had to be coerced into recording them. Too good, said the A and R men. Too special. Ironically, the two songs became the top selling records on their respective labels.

Maybe the Artists and Repertoire chiefs are right; the public *is* dumb—can't seem to understand that it shouldn't like the good songs. There are those, however, who blame the decline on reasons other than just a misguided interpretation of public taste on the part of the A and R men.

SOME place blame on BMI (Broadcast Music, Inc.), the organization of writers and publishers created by the large broadcasting companies to compete with ASCAP (American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers). Since about 99 percent of the good songwriters belong to ASCAP, BMI has gone hunting for material elsewhere, namely in "country and western" and "rhythm and blues"—the former being the ephemeral folk music of white hillbillies and farm folk, the latter serving the same purpose to unsophisticated urban Negroes. These non-ASCAP fields are being plowed by BMI and the hay fed to a helpless public through the co-operation of the recording and broadcasting companies.

There are other reasons, too, for the decline if not the fall of the popular song, reasons which have been explored in *Variety,* the weekly bible of showbusiness. It is a story of publishers, A and R men and artists, whirling on a merry-go-round of pay-offs and cut-ins, with songs being recorded not on their merit but on the basis of which song offers the greatest opportunity for illicit, shared loot.

So, if today's songwriter is rich and can pay off the right people, he's in and may continue working at his trade. Or if he gives away an inordinate percentage of his songs; that may do it.

If that kind of deal doesn't appeal to him, he can just take a vacation for a few years and hope that something will happen to revolutionize the music business. Or he can find a new business.

If he's talented and lucky, he might land one of the few Broadway or Hollywood job opportunities.

If he's talented but not lucky, or if he's an up-and-comer instead of a big-name, then he can continue trying to crack the "pop" market, even though he's aware of the perils and the odds.

But now there's a big question. Can he write for this kind of market?

Is it possible for a gifted, self-respecting lyricist to sit down and write

> Crazy 'bout ya, baby
> Want ya all to myself
> Crazy 'bout ya, baby
> No one else on the shelf.[4]

or:

> Say I look nice when I'm not
> Little things mean a lot.[5]

or:

> There never was a night so beautiful
> As this night here with you under the stars.
> No music ever was so danceable
> No one as romanceable as you are.[6]

or:

> Goodnight, sweetheart, well, it's time to go
> Goodnight, sweetheart, well, it's time to go
> I hate to leave you, but I really must say
> Goodnight, sweetheart, goodnight.[7]

No one has turned up a satisfactory answer to the songwriter's dilemma. A lot of great writers have given up. Some do manage to get a song published once in a while. Some, in desperation, have tried starting up their own recording companies. But there seems to be no rainbow.

Except television.

It is true that up till now, television has plodded along the same, well-worn rut as radio, with advertising agencies and producers demanding that the musical fare consist of "standards" and the "hit parade"—which has meant the singers have had either to sing old favorites too often, thereby almost destroying the beauty of infrequency, or they have had to sing fleeting hits they otherwise wouldn't whisper in their showers.

This Fall, however, will set off an explosion of so-called "spectaculars," huge TV shows with top stars and productions, with costs running in the hundreds of thousands for a single show. And there will be songs. They'll revive old musical comedies, of course, and with them the old scores. But already some of the shows are planning original productions. With original music.

This is where the talented songwriter will get another chance. With production costs up in six figures, and stars like Betty Hutton and Judy Garland in top spots, no producer is going to look for musical material from the writers of

> Oh, oh, oh, gee
> Man, oh, oh, gee
> Well, oh, oh, gee
> Do I love that girl.[8]

With songs, good songs, being introduced in large number on television, the power of "determining" public taste may gradually slip out of the hands of the A and R men and revert back to the public itself.

Which is all a songwriter wants.

Today he stands down there at the end of Tin Pan Alley, discouraged, almost ready to turn into another street. But he looks up at the sky and sees those myriad television antennae. Through them seems to whistle a friendly wind, so he fingers the worn, stubby pencil in his pocket and begins muttering to himself.

> Moon . . . June . . . soon . . .
> maybe real soon . . .

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in the 128-page
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of
The New Republic
November 22
"Almost Thirty"
by
JOHN REED

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Hope Against Hope

SOME YEARS ago, P. M. S. Blackett described the atomic bomb as "the weapon [America] was so proud to have developed and so ashamed to have used." *In the Name of Sanity,* a collection of essays and lectures by Lewis Mumford, has grown partly out of the author's conviction that Americans have, in fact, progressively lost the capacity to be ashamed. "Not the least extraordinary fact about the postwar period," Mumford observes grimly, "is that mass extermination has awakened so little moral protest." Though he devotes many pages to a consideration of the threats posed by "weapons of genocide," *In the Name of Sanity* is not essentially about the A-bomb, the H-bomb, or biological warfare. It is instead an impressive analysis of the reasons for their existence, and an impassioned plea for mankind "to preserve its sanity: to avoid, by a spontaneous upsurge of human purpose, the final horror that automatic thinking in science and technology and politics has actually prepared for us."

In the Name of Sanity, by Lewis Mumford (Harcourt, Brace; $3.75).

In chapters on technology and Western civilization, the armaments race, literature, the fine arts, and politics, Mumford persuasively develops the point that "violence and irrationality" are now dominant in Europe and the United States. The causes of this condition—in which the prospects of a shooting war daily increase—are traced in part to the influence of modern technology on man's conception of "time, space, and power"; on the "quantification of life"; and on the automatization of human beings. The great scientific achievements, Mumford suggests, also induced in scientists and laymen a "pride that begot [moral] blindness."

Mumford believes that our present insanity stems too from the sudden overthrow of nineteenth-century optimism by the tragic events of two world wars, by the ironic outcome of the Soviet experiment, and by the economic depression of the thirties. He is convinced, moreover, that the unearthing of man's buried passions by Freud—that "voice out of Hell," as one critic has called him—furthered the impulse toward irrationality.

Some of the opinions advanced in this book will be familiar to readers of Mumford's other writings, especially his "Program for Survival," an essay first published in England in 1946 and reprinted in the United States (together with other pieces) as *Values for Survival.* One finds in both works Mumford's condemnation of the "political irresponsibility" which led to dropping atomic bombs on Japan. And in both he reluctantly dismisses the UN, at least in its present form, as an instrument for solving the crucial international problems. Furthermore, his central theme, once again, is that individuals should rebuild their lives, so that social morality as a whole may be strengthened.

Here, however, the important similarities of the two works end. In most respects, *In the Name of Sanity* provides a fresh perspective on the main currents of Western thought and action. Aside from Mumford's reflections on the violence and irrationality manifested in politics, literature, and the arts, readers will probably find most challenging and useful the author's comments on the tormented soul of the modern age. On this subject Mumford has often demonstrated his candor and perceptiveness, most notably in two of his major publications, *Technics and Civilization* and *The Culture of Cities.* To former insights he now adds a new one—in his use of Shakespeare's Caliban and Prospero (from *The Tempest*) to symbolize, respectively, the madness and the sanity of our civilization.

Caliban may be viewed, Mumford submits, as representing "the demoralizing forces of modern barbarism. That fawning brute, that gibbering fool . . . may well stand as image of the lower powers of man . . . against whose uprising and dominion no person, no civilization, is ever entirely safe." He sees Caliban as combining, on the one hand, the individual and social impulses roughly equivalent to those which Freud designated the "id"; and, on the other, the technical and scientific drive toward "power, order, [and] knowledge" for their own sakes, heedless of social responsibilities or the gradual replacement of the total man by the automaton.

Opposing Caliban is Prospero, "the incarnation of man's higher powers. His is the directing intelligence . . . the sensitive morality . . . the brooding imagination . . . the religious insight. . . ." Prospero would bear certain resemblances, Mumford points out, to the Freudian superego. Or—to use another of his parallels — in theological terms Caliban would be the demonic, Prospero the divine. That Caliban today dominates man and society, Mumford makes clear: "the problem of our time . . . is to bring Caliban back once more under the control of Prospero." Caliban is not to be liquidated, however; merely subdued. In taking this position, Mumford echoes the truth insisted upon by Hawthorne and Melville, among others, that the mind and the heart must work together in man. (Elsewhere in the book, Mumford cites Ethan Brand and Captain Ahab as archetypes of the person who is destroyed by rejecting a part of his humanity.)

Given the axiom that Caliban has taken over society, it is not surprising that the names of Toynbee, Spengler, Burckhardt and Henry Adams appear frequently in the pages of *In the Name of Sanity.* Nor is it surprising that Mumford, respecting as he does the prophecies of other men, should himself turn to prediction as well as to analysis. For while there is more to prophecy than the knack of accurate forecasting, this talent is clearly the primary ingredient; and Lewis Mumford—whom Van Wyck Brooks has recently characterized as an "American prophet" — deserves more recognition on this score than he has received. (His warnings in *Men Must Act* about fascist expansion constitute the best single illustration.) The volume at hand includes an essay written in 1946 in which Mumford predicted with remarkable prescience the probable development of what we now term the "cold war." The following passage from this essay, for instance, was composed prior to the passage of the McCarran Act, the court trials of Communist Party leaders, the rampages of Sen-

Coming
November 22
In NR's 40th Anniversary Issue
"The Corruption of Liberalism"
by
LEWIS MUMFORD

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ator McCarthy, or the plunge from favor of J. Robert Oppenheimer:

> In this situation [i.e., in an atomic armament race], secrecy gives rise to suspicion and suspicion to uncontrolled fantasies of deception and aggression. Despite the most rigorous immigration barriers, despite the almost complete cessation of foreign travel, rumors that the Communist party has access to the secrets held by other countries, put even the most remote minor officials under the constant surveillance of the FBI. . . . No man trusts his neighbor or dares speak to him freely. Research that turns out to be sterile is regarded as a possible manifestation of treason: those involved in it are purged. Mistakes . . . slips of the tongue, all lead to further purges. . . .

The general significance of these phenomena would lie, Mumford indicates, in their signaling the final breakdown of civilized life. With the advent of the police state, of widespread violence and fear, the descent into barbarism would be irreversible. Under these circumstances, a hot war would not be necessary to effect the destruction of man.

It is with an eye to preventing this death by degeneration, as much as extinction by bombing, that Mumford makes four specific proposals for immediate action. These include (1) a prompt, one-year armistice among all nations, (2) a world conference of experts in the natural sciences to document the probable horrors of a third world war, (3) transformation of the UN into an operative world government, and (4) cessation of atomic-bomb and similar weapons manufacture.

Americans who consider these proposals seriously will doubtless conclude that Mumford is optimistic, at the very least. Anticipating the objection that his ideas are impracticable, he argues that only bold measures can prevent disaster. This argument is, in turn, rooted in a particular conception of human nature which merits attention not only because it underlies a great many of Mumford's more explicit opinions (in other books as in this one), but also because the validity of his plea for a return to sanity depends heavily on the accuracy of this conception.

Briefly stated, *In the Name of Sanity* most often and most explicitly presents a view of man as an unstable compound of Caliban and Prospero. Although Caliban is presumed to have the upper hand at present, it is yet possible that Prospero will regain control. Mumford also believes, as I have indicated, that *ideally* both forces continue to play a part in human (and social) behavior. Somewhat at variance with this notion of man, however, is a second one discoverable in the book. This is a conception of man, individually, as *either* Caliban or Prospero. Mumford declares, for example, "no small part of mankind lives in a state of self-enclosed delusion that calls for psychiatric treatment." He implies that men have lost their "capacity to be human" and are marked by their "present irrationality," not to mention "moral numbness and inertia." In contrast, he looks hopefully for moral leadership to "rational men" and "apostles of reason."

By this subtle shift away from a view of the individual as torn between opposing forces within him, Mumford has created an image of man which is conceived—unfortunately, it seems to me—as a psychological and moral absolute. In this matter, he appears in effect to be a partial captive of his own dramatic devices. Seeming to forget that Caliban and Prospero were employed as imaginative, rather than literal, descriptions of man—forgetting, that is, the original simplification of character involved in their use—Mumford moves easily to a vision of the future in which "the apostles of reason will unite" and effect a "psychological revolution."

Attractive as this vision may be, how credible is it? Are we not being asked to believe that, in spite of the present world chaos, the kingdom of heaven may really be near at hand? It may be that the former Ambassador to the USSR, George F. Kennan—who, it should be noted, agrees with many of the opinions voiced by Mumford—has supplied us with a somewhat sounder evaluation of current psychological and political possibilities in his new book, *Realities of American Foreign Policy*.

The occasional warping of logic and possibility in Mumford's book disturbs me all the more because there is so much to be said for his thesis regarding the insanity of contemporary Western man, and he says it, in the main, most convincingly. Lewis Mumford is not afraid to express unpopular ideas, and he does so with a confidence born of knowledge and intelligence. DAVID R. WEIMER

Anecdotes & Gossip

WHEN William Faulkner's mother read Mr. Robert Coughlan's articles in *Life* about her son's private history, habits, ancestors, relatives and sometimes even novels, she cancelled her subscription. Undeterred by this definitive act of criticism, Mr. Coughlan has now recast the articles into a short book. Mr. Coughlan is also the author of a similar book on the painter Utrillo, thereby indicating a belief that the same massive unequipment, once accumulated, will apply equally to any of the arts.

The Private World of William Faulkner, by Robert Coughlan (Harpers; $3).

Mr. Coughlan's method is simple. He has dredged up biographical material, has accumulated anecdotes, and tacked on a patch of "criticism" consisting of plot summaries so simplified as to be usable in comic books. He writes in a smooth effortless creamy prose, of the sort that never betrays the knots and twists of a mind in thought. The result, his publishers announce, is "the first rounded appraisal of Faulkner as an artist and a man. . . ."

Still, Mr. Coughlan couldn't have had an easy time of it. Faulkner is notoriously hostile to people who go poking into his private affairs, and Mr. Coughlan has finally come up with little more than the familiar stories about the Faulkner family, those rootin' tootin' Southern gentlemen and their loyal ladies. The little more he has dug up consists mainly of evidence that, contrary to most accounts, Faulkner didn't fight in Europe during World War I. Very well: he didn't.

Perhaps to add a pinch of spice, Mr. Coughlan offers a fairly full description of what he calls Faulkner's heavy drinking. Whether his report is true I neither know nor care, but it seems to me in deplorable taste, and a violation of Faulkner's privacy for which there can be no literary justification, that Mr. Coughlan has seen fit to discuss this matter in print. The only need he thereby satisfies is the need Winchell satisfies.

Though Mr. Coughlan has been wise enough to avoid any sustained effort at criticism, he is likely to prove the ideal

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critic for anyone who thinks that the structural complexities of *The Sound and the Fury* can be grasped by studying its author's family line. Mr. Coughlan also has a psychological side: he reports that Faulkner sometimes writes on toilet paper, though whether from emotional disposition or a momentary lack of any other paper he does not say.

"A juxtaposition," he writes at one point, "of [Faulkner's] themes with the real events just described [events in Faulkner's family history] is the *only* way by which the former can be understood and made intelligible." (Emphasis added.) It is hard to believe that even a considerable number of Americans and Europeans, clearly lacking the biographical details Mr. Coughlan has collected, have yet written intelligent criticism of Faulkner's books.

Curiously, when Mr. Coughlan does dip a toe into criticism, he becomes rather portentous and obscure, as if he regarded literary talk not as a means of communication but as a device for adding "tone" to his biographical trivia. Faulkner, he writes, can best be understood as "a kind of anti-Wordsworth." And "in Faulkner's writing, life has no meaning except to the individual." What an "anti-Wordsworth" might be, who "*the* individual" is and who could be his possible alternative as a recipient for the meaning of life, Mr. Coughlan does not say. Perhaps it's just as well.

The time may yet come when all our writing will be mass-produced, cut from a stencil for an audience that has itself been pre-fabricated; if so, literary criticism will be written as Mr. Coughlan writes it. Yet I doubt that the degenerative process of mass culture can ever reach a full completion. For if there weren't the O'Donnells, the Penn Warrens, the Cowleys and the other Faulkner critics to begin with, how could the Coughlans ever find out that writers like Faulkner are worth gossiping about in public print? IRVING HOWE

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New Short Stories

The Best American Short Stories 1954, edited by Martha Foley (Houghton Mifflin; $4).

WHEN the late Edward J. O'Brien became a specialist of the short story about forty years ago the world was a rather strange and fishy place in comparison with what it is at the present time. Unbelievable forms of imbecility of various kinds seemed immovable, permanent, proper and even desirable. It seemed out of order, for instance, even to think that anything slightly or enormously wrong, or at any rate out of date, might be put slightly right.

A writer with a soul like Kipling's, for instance, was taken for quite a good writer because he *was* quite a good writer, and his soul was taken, or mistaken, for a quite good one, apparently for the reason that he wrote so well. A lot of his soul was in fact quite good, but most of it was quite bad, or at any rate unfortunate. He was able to believe, for instance, that an Englishman was superior to a Hindu, without particularizing either of them, but Gandhi turned out to be the superior of any Englishman of the past half century.

The writer with skill is still up against this difficult problem. Can he heed his suspicions about very big things? Does he dare? Will he seem to be the writer he would like to be?

In the US at the present time, for instance, there is much that is plainly wrong or out of date that American writers for some reason are unable to attack, or even point out. In fact, some of the most skillful and famous writers have made an eventual deliverance from these wrongs more difficult than it might be had they been willing or able to both write well and attack the wrongs. Instead, they supported them. It was difficult not to. One's friends, to begin with, are always such pleasant and earnest idiots that one is fearful of hurting them, or of being estranged from them—and isn't life too short, in any case?

Most short story writers, most writers of all kinds, most novelists, playwrights, and poets could very well stop writing, could very well never have written, with very little loss, if any, to the health of man. At the same time every writer, however bad, has some connection, however unfortunate, with history and with man's health, or to put it more properly with bad history and with the perpetuation of man's ill-health. In short, if you write, your writing does something for or to somebody.

If this is so, why is it so? And what can the short-story writer do about it? It is so because it is always easier and nearly irresistible for any man—any man at all—to take it easy, to step carefully around "the wrong" or "the untrue," and go about his small business. Why not? Who are you to change the world? Who are you to insist, against all evidence, that man is a creature of good-and-bad, and that the good *can* thrive beside the bad, for its own sake? The correct contemporary answer would appear to be that you are nobody, certainly nobody in particular, quite shot yourself, but at the same time one who writes, and therefore one who is interested and involved. And since you *do* write, unless you are terribly clever or stupid, it follows that you have no choice but to try to write meaningfully, usefully, with faith—in yourself and in the handful of people you happen to know.

Here before me is the latest of the annual books started forty years ago by Edward J. O'Brien: *The Best American Short Stories 1954*. At my leisure I intend to try to read them, for I am devoted to the form, both as a reader and as a writer; and because I am always on the look-out for the arrival of a new writer who may just turn out to be a little like Jack London, for instance, only better; a little like Mark Twain, only better; a little like Theodore Dreiser, only better; and so on. Just glancing at the names in this book is heartening, for many of them I have never seen in print before. Maybe among them is a name that is going to stand there like a rock because it is the name of a writer who is a writer, than which at its best little can be more decently grand. The older names, in this book or in the book

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of American letters, including my own, are the names of writers who did, and do, pretty good, but failed, and fail—but keep trying, at any rate. They are the names of writers who are forty now, or older—some who were young men not so long ago one is a little surprised to discover are now suddenly sixty; and many are dead, in body as in book. The writing goes on just the same, though. Collectively, gathered together, with the names thrown away, this writing is the best yet, if the most uniform, and entirely lacking in useful greatness and power. This condition appears to be part of the mystery of the arrival of the collective soul. Everybody's got a little of it, nobody's got a lot. Or at any rate, very few.

The book has twenty-four writers and 409 pages. A great writer would have found it impossible not to write that many stories covering that many pages in any year at all, let alone last year. But do we want a great writer any more?

Well, I do. I enjoy reading, and I prefer to read writing that's great.

There is a foreword by Martha Foley, and the usual back material: Biographical Notes; The Yearbook of the American Short Story, or Roll of Honor; Distinctive Volumes of Short Stories; Distinctive Short Stories in American Magazines, and Addresses of American and Canadian Magazines Publishing Short Stories.

Alphabetically, the names of the writers in this book are: Geoffrey Bush, Richard Clay, Benjamin DeMott, Ward Dorrance, LeGarde S. Doughty, Elizabeth Enright (to whom the book is dedicated), Steve Frazee, Ivan Gold, Priscilla Heath, Anne Hebert, Frank Holwerda, Randall Jarrell, Almet Jenks, George Loveridge, Frances Gray Patton, Robert Payne, Rosanne Smith Robinson, Irwin Shaw, Jean Stafford, Kressman Taylor, B. Traven, Christine Weston, Ira Wolfert, and Vurrell Yentzen.

First lines read thus:

1. May it please your Majesty to know that your will has been accomplished: the one you know of is dead.

2. As Diana Schuyler hunched herself in the corner of the front seat she saw the windshield wiper sweeping the snow from the dark glasses with a which-whack sound that seemed to her as cruel and persistent as if it were slapping her tear-stained cheeks from side to side.

3. For most of the afternoon it was a soft spring rain that slipped lightly through the leaves and soundlessly drenched the earth.

4. The white mares pulled the van into High Street and whinnied and shook their bells.

5. It happened on Armistice Day, though Blink did not know Armistice Day from any other, unless he happened to walk into the parade.

6. October sunshine bathed the park with such a melting light that it had the dimmed, impressive look of a landscape by an old master.

7. Now there were three left.

8. Bobbie Bedner at the age of nineteen during the course of three warm August days and nights lost not only her virginity which she had long before misplaced in the back of an automobile but the memory of it, and almost, along with this, the capacity to remember.

9. The great smacks of things, bearing down, come all at once sometimes; the whole crazy world swings out and surrounds you—an enormous new country you've got to without knowing it was there.

10. Stephanie de Bichette was a curious little creature with frail limbs that seemed badly put together.

11. It must have been an exceedingly informal inquest.

12. Though Gertrude's grammar, syntax, and punctuation were perfectly orthodox, though her style made everything sound as it it had been dictated to her by the spirit of Geometry, she was admired by the most experimental of writers, men who, since high school, had never used a comma, except perhaps to put one after every word of a book of poems.

13. The last and highest camp was Camp VII.

14. When old Wilbur Cartwright's wife died, he had nobody left in the world but his son, and he went to live with him.

15. "Now, if we had religion——" Lillian Duncan began.

16. For three years Anselme Sainteny had been in charge of the Tham-baung tin mines in northern Annam.

17. When her father's taxi drove up in front of the house Nora was hanging by her knees from the lowest branch of the rubber tree and her short blond hair, sun-bleached almost white along the part, barely grazed the round disc of black earth that had been scuffed in the matted grass.

18. Beddoes got in from Egypt in the middle of the morning.

19. Oh, there's no whitewashing the incident.

20. It was full summer when Charles Corey came home from a week's selling trip, on a scented burnished afternoon of golden-rod and gentle airs that was very pleasant to walk in, after the cindered heat of local trains, the icy air-conditioning of hotel lobbies and barrooms.

21. Macario, the village woodchopper, had one overwhelming desire which he had nourished for fifteen years.

22. In India almost every one believes in ghosts.

23. When Wes Olmstead was a little boy growing up along the Susquehanna and wearing a tie on his Sunday shirt that knocked against his knees, his grandfather took him visiting to a nearby farm that sported a cock o' the walk, one of the breed called Arkansas Traveller.

24. There were rocks on the beach, some sharp enough to make clean cuts.

Now, if you're a short story writer, or if you've ever wanted to write a short story, perhaps these first lines will send you to your typewriter or to paper and pen or pencil, and put you to giving the thing another go, or a first go. If you *are* sent, and you do try to write a short story, keep in the back of your head all the time that it is not entirely unlikely that you *can* write a great short story—even you—and that your best chance to do so is to write with ideas and not with words, and for a better reason than to make a dollar or some kind of a name. Best of all, though, don't write at all, unless you would in any case, even if it were against the law, and cost you every friend you ever had.

WILLIAM SAROYAN

Notes on the Critics

HAL LEVY, a member of ASCAP, teaches popular lyric writing at UCLA. DAVID R. WEIMER is on the English faculty of the University of Michigan. IRVING HOWE is co-editor of *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories,* which will be published this month. Excerpts from this book were first published in *NR.* WILLIAM SAROYAN is at work on a new novel.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Standards in Smaller Colleges

Sirs:

In Vincent S. Carruthers' article, "The Narrow Door to College Admissions" (*NR*, Sept. 13) the author states, "It is competition (in admissions) which separates the calibre of students at, say, Kalamazoo, from those at Columbia." I question the validity of the statement and regret the implication of its application to Kalamazoo College or other liberal arts colleges which strive to maintain the same high standards as the time-honored institutions of the East.

There are many factors other than competition in admissions which determine the calibre of students found on a college campus. First is the basic philosophy of the institution. Even during the early 1950's when the low birth rate of the depression years meant a reduction in the college population, there were many fine but small liberal arts colleges which continued their careful screening of applicants even though it meant reduced enrollments. These institutions were convinced that a lowering of the quality of their student bodies would prove a near-sighted policy. Second, these colleges know that a certain native capacity is needed to meet academic requirements and that a change in policy would lead only to subsequent difficulty. Third, the academic reputation of a college affects the calibre of its applicants. High school counselors, alumni, teachers, and undergraduates all evaluate the degree of difficulty of a college, and recommend a student to that institution which will challenge but not overwhelm him. For these and other reasons I believe that Mr. Carruthers has overstated his case.

I regret, too, that the author has chosen to mention Kalamazoo College. For his edification, I should like to state that Kalamazoo, the oldest liberal arts college in Michigan, has been progressing without fanfare and ostentation for a century and a quarter. With dynamic presidential leadership, early in the twentieth century the college achieved academic respectability. . . . Even in the face of trying times, the institution has neither abandoned the liberal arts nor compromised its basic educational ideals.

But I shall let the record speak for itself. In the recent study, *Origins of American Scientists,* sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation, this college ranked second in the nation percentagewise in the production of scientists. Specifically, Kalamazoo ranked first in the nation in chemistry, fourth in biology, and ninth in physics. Only Reed College in Oregon has a higher percentage of its science graduates continuing through the doctorate level. All of the Ivy League colleges including my alma mater were a part of the study.

In fairness to Mr. Carruthers, I would concur in his belief that there are colleges in which the competition for admissions is not keen. However, I would want him to know that there may be some like Kalamazoo that have suffered from restricted enrollments because of their determination to maintain superior standards. I suggest, too, that if names are to be mentioned in comparisons, the writer be exceedingly cautious that he does not carelessly choose one whose steadfastness to excellence has resulted in a record that even the Ivy League might envy.

WEIMER K. HICKS
President
Kalamazoo College

. . . Mr. Carruthers Replies

President Hicks, the new president of Kalamazoo, can—I agree—be rightfully proud of the record that his college has made in the sciences. I am sure that the "basic philosophy" of Kalamazoo in every way meets the concept of "Man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof" recently celebrated by Columbia. But however considerable its excellence, the fact remains that Kalamazoo is a comparatively small regional college which does not draw applicants from the broad geographical base typical of Ivy League competition. The most competitive Eastern colleges, even for potential science majors, do (I submit) offer admission on the basis that each student must first of all complete stiff requirements in English and a foreign language: thus their emphasis on the CEEB Verbal Aptitude score as an index of ability to do creditable work in the humanities. I seriously doubt that the average V-score of Kalamazoo entrants equals that of Columbia (or say Princeton) freshmen, but it is a matter of record that Kalamazoo's standards are scrupulously high, and if the euphonious improbability of that college's name led me to unjust comparison I hereby make my due apologies.

V. S. CARRUTHERS

Coming
November 22
in NR's 40th Anniversary Issue
"Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid"
by
VIRGINIA WOOLF

► Strength Without Diplomacy

Sirs:

The day is fortunately past when American policy makers thought public opinion a sufficient deterrent against aggression, as did the last previous Republican team of Hoover and Stimson when Japan attacked Manchuria in 1931. But in their disillusionment over the failure of negotiation from a position of weakness, the present group—the Fearless Foursome of Eisenhower, Dulles, Knowland and Radford—has gone overboard in the opposite direction and now seems to propose strength without diplomacy.

Without military strength a bold foreign policy cannot be maintained; without a diplomatic program to be negotiated when the opportunity arises, military strength becomes unchanneled force for the sake of force. The latter danger is the present one. It will be averted only by resolute leadership at one end of Pennsylvania Avenue and a return to reason at the other.

MICHAEL D. REAGAN
Princeton, New Jersey

► H. L. Mencken as Critic

Sirs:

Charles Angoff does less than justice to Mencken as a critic (*NR*, September 13). In the field of the novel, where his main interest and significance lay, he

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had boldness, vision and quick, sure sympathies that revealed the grandeur of intuition as well as the strength of sound general principles. . . . Mencken's range of appreciation was far wider than "debunking"—witness his feeling for Conrad and Dreiser. He was inspiring when he wrote of the lofty role of fiction in the treatment of life and character. His language was at all times alive; one remembers his line about Dreiser's "soul-sick servant girls" and his statement that a reader must bring to Conrad "more than the faculty of attention."

JOHN W. GUNN

Kansas City, Missouri

► The Hazards of the Writer

Sirs:

The anonymous writer who signs the praises of the rejected, quoted by Malcolm Cowley (*NR*, Sept. 20), was in good voice. And Cowley's thesis that the unpublished scribe is in danger of dying before his time "because discouragement makes him prone to accidents and less resistant to disease" shows acute observation.

But there is a strong possibility that Cowley applies the psychosomatic toll to the wrong category of writers. It is not the rejected writer alone who gets writer's cramp, colitis of the vocabulary and ulcers of the typewriter ribbon. The highest mortality and greatest damage is wreaked on the published writer who sacrifices his integrity in order to keep on being published.

It is the trained seals who crack up first. The rejected writer can't afford the financial strain of alcoholism, which Cowley thinks is an occupational hazard. Rather those who line the bars and try to dissolve the memory of the day's work are the poor hacks who grind out policy stories drawing false conclusions from colored assumptions, and the publicity and advertising men whose stock in trade is insincerity.

This is not to contradict Cowley's conclusion that rejection slips can be damned annoying, as few know better than the undersigned.

RIDGELY CUMMINGS

Hollywood, Calif.

► Wizards in Washington

Sirs:

Reading "September Song," (*NR*, September 27) and various reports of the administration's optimistic views on the nation's economic health I was reminded of a most appropriate passage in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. The Wizard says, "As the country was so green and beautiful, I would call it the Emerald City, and to make the name fit better I put green spectacles on all the people, so that everything they saw was green." "But isn't everything here green?" asked Dorothy. "No more than in any other city," replied Oz, "but when you wear green spectacles, why of course everything you see looks green to you."

ALLEN KLEIN

Mount Vernon, New York

► Latin-Lettered Readers

Sirs:

In the same Cataline Oration you quoted in your September 27 issue, Cicero exclaims: *"o di immortales! Ubinam gentium sumus?"* In my slang that means: "Ye Gods and little fishes! Where are we AT?"

ORAH COLE BRISCOE

Sarasota, Florida

. . . and

Along with Cicero, you might also quote Cato: *McCarthaginem esse delendam*; or, if you prefer: *Delenda est McCarthago*.

E. WAYLES BROWNE, JR.

Bethesda, Maryland

DOORBELL RINGERS

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BANDWAGON

A. H. REED III, State Attorney George Brautigam's special investigator probing a Miami Beach prostitution ring, says that he has spent four months probing the organization, that it is bigger than just prostitution. "Communists are infiltrating this ring," he says.—*Miami Daily News*, September 29, 1954.

OUTLINING the major problems that face the Republicans this fall, he (Nixon) said they must make people see the importance of turning out for the election so they will "vote as many times as they did in 1952."—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 15, 1954.

GOV. HUGH WHITE today submitted to a special legislative session a proposed constitutional amendment that would permit abolition of the state's public schools if necessary to preserve segregation of white and Negro pupils. . . .

White said that after the US Supreme Court outlawed public school segregation last May 17, Negroes of the state refused to pledge themselves to voluntary segregation. They now must suffer the responsibility for their action, he told the Legislature.—*Los Angeles Daily News*, September 8, 1954.

MISS BLANDING (President of Vassar) also discussed with English educators the current socialist threat to education. The government is now contributing so much that any English student who wishes to attend schools in England, Scotland or Northern Ireland can be subsidized.—*Vassar Chronicle*, September 25, 1954.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS.

CATALOGUE

Scarce social-economic material. Catalogue: The Hammersmith Bookshop, London W.6.

MAGAZINE

A GRAMMAR OF VIOLENCE—lead article on the Semantics of the literature of violence in the current issue of ETC., official journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write Dept. 22, 400 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

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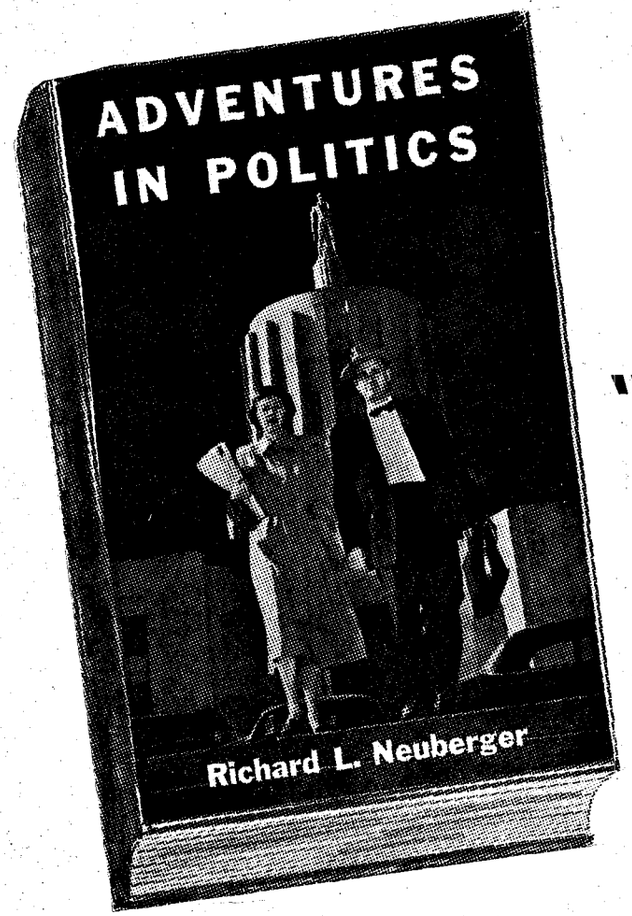
The Legislator Who Mixed Margarine . . .

The lady in the apron is Maurine (Mrs. Richard) Neuberger, who, with her husband, is a member of the Oregon State Legislature. Sponsor of a bill to legalize colored margarine, she appeared before the Agricultural Committee with a big kitchen mixing bowl to demonstrate the messy chore that Oregon laws imposed on the average housewife. (The 38-year-old law was repealed.)

Lively episodes like these are part of the fascinating personal story of America's best-known husband-and-wife legislative team. Mr. Neuberger, a noted contributor to *New Republic* and other magazines, presents also a forceful analysis of what's wrong with our states' governments. "Adventures in Politics" makes important, *first-hand* reading for every voter.



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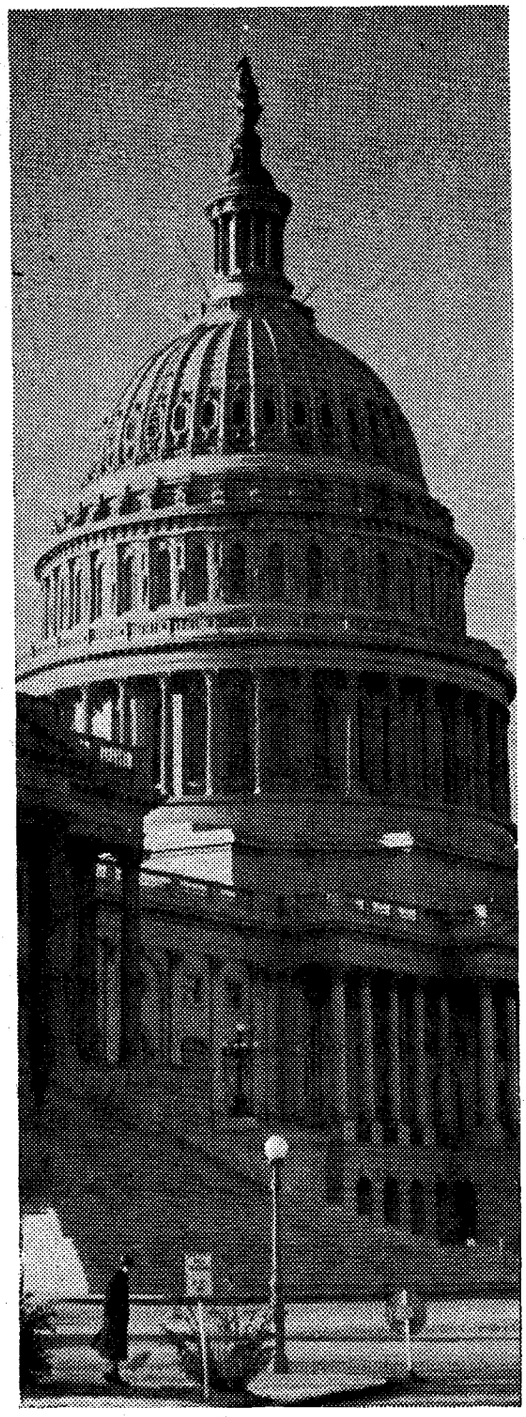
PART 2—A SUPPLEMENT

VOTER'S GUIDE TO 1954

New Republic



Two Years of Eisenhower

An independent appraisal of the President in office, the legislation he has approved, and the Republican Congress which he claims is needed to complete his program.

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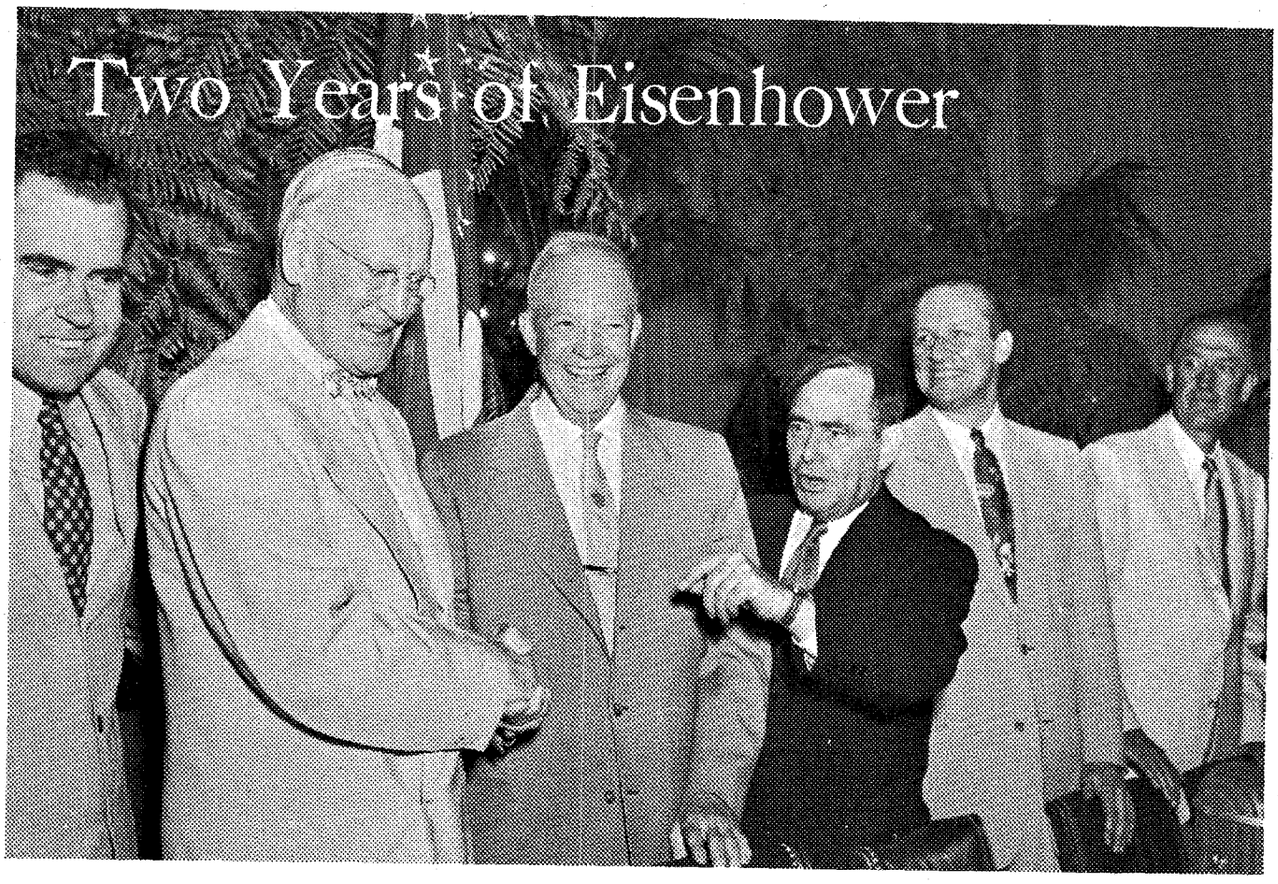
Two Years of Eisenhower



THE PRESIDENT of the United States, the Vice President and the leaders of the Republican Party hold that these two propositions should govern the choice of 50 million citizens on November 2:

President Eisenhower's program is a sound program for America.

Only a Republican Congress can carry this program through.

Accepting these propositions as governing, the editors of the *New Republic* submit them, in the pages that follow, to factual review. Because Dwight Eisenhower himself has been made the symbol and the central issue by every Republican candidate, we start with our own appraisal of the President after two years.

Ours is a critical appraisal, but it is friendly criticism. This journal advocated the candidacy of General Eisenhower in 1948. It did what it could, in 1952, to aid in his nomination in the Republican convention over the rival candidacy of the late Sen. Robert A. Taft. Thus, like most Americans, we approach the President with these feelings: a sense of pride in his military career; a sense of participation in his political career; a sense of solidarity in his basic struggle—the struggle against the right wing of his own party; a sense, lastly, of concern for his success as Chief Executive. For a simple reason we wish him well. For while the *New Republic* has generally supported Democratic candidates, the stakes of 1954 far transcend party interest. We wish the success of the President because the free world turns on it; we fear his failure, for his failure imperils us all.

* * *

For our text, in this Voters' Guide, we have taken President Eisenhower's own appraisal of his "stewardship" of two years, given in his speech to the nation of August 23, 1954. In this speech, as in all his statements the President makes it clear that his foremost desire is to be looked on as national leader rather than as a party spokesman, an advocate for the people as a whole. He describes his program of two years as "a very broad program for strengthening America." It was shaped, he declares, by the feeling of the electorate in 1952: "that it was time for a new era of fair play, to treat everyone alike, to have no favored classes." He adds: "This Administration was pledged to do everything it could for the benefit of 160 million American people and not for any single group, any single area or any single geographic section."

These words, we have no doubt, express the President's deepest convictions. And yet they are belied by the record of his own Administration over two years.

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With few exceptions the President's domestic program records concessions made to the predominant business group.

The President himself seems aware of this contradiction. He sets up, in his August 23rd speech, a curious dichotomy within his Administration. It is, he says, "conservative in the economy, liberal in human affairs." By "liberal," the President adds, he means "human, considerate and sympathetic." The term "conservative" he does not define. In any case the distinction between "the economy" and "human affairs" will not stand. For "the economy" is the wages the worker earns, the prices the farmer receives, the bill the housewife owes, the rent and interest that the breadwinner pays, the taxes that the government takes and the services it renders in return. These aspects of "the economy" in fact make up the larger part of what the President calls "human affairs."

There is a real dichotomy that the President is seeking to rationalize. It derives from the political instrument he has chosen to execute his "very broad program." And it derives further from the fact that the group whose company the President enjoys, whose judgment he respects, whose views he accepts, whose members he entrusts with top executive power, is made up of the officials of a few great corporations who constitute not all the people, but a fraction of one percent of them. The views of this group substantially shape the program advanced by President Eisenhower. And their views are often far from "very broad." However, the gap between the President's determination to be a national leader and his record in office is bridged to the satisfaction of his own mind and conscience. The bridge apparently is formed by three parts.

FIRST, as Chief Executive, Mr. Eisenhower employs the military procedure of "chain of command." By this means he grants to a few subordinates the power to screen his information, his visitors, his access to unfamiliar or unwelcome ideas. He permits them to tell him substantially what they wish him to know.

Second, Mr. Eisenhower views the propositions that are placed before him in the light of a few simple and very general formulas. He believes in private enterprise, he is opposed to centralization in government, he regards creeping socialism as the great domestic evil that must be struck down. Thus the course of his "conservative" advisers is clear. The continued federal ownership of offshore oil is presented to Mr. Eisenhower as a trend toward centralization. Accordingly, in the name of defending all the people, the President transfers the resources of all the people to a few. In a similar manner the Dixon-Yates contract is presented to the President as a blow against the creeping socialism of the TVA. So, in the name of all the people, the President demands a contract which costs the people an additional $140 million. The tax bill works predominantly to aid the giant corporations. But the President sees it and insists on presenting it as a measure to help the average man. The gap between these two views is bridged by members of the President's cabinet with the comforting rationalization that what is good for General Motors is good for the country.

The third manner in which Mr. Eisenhower appears to bridge the gap between his record in office and his concept of himself derives from his interpretation of the Presidential role.

AT HEART any man, on moving into the White House, must choose between two concepts of the Presidency.

The first concept is that of James Buchanan, and it holds that the President can do nothing except what the Constitution permits. Even within this limited area the President is essentially inert. He administers the objects entrusted to him by Congress.

Where the first concept ends, the second, which we associate with Abraham Lincoln, begins. It holds that the President can do everything for the people except what the Constitution forbids. In this view the least part of the Presidency is the mechanical work of administering under law what Congress approves. The greater part lies in the President's extra-legal powers and duties as party leader, and chief moulder of public opinion. In this view the President is the main force in the resolution, by political means, of the innumerable and continuing conflicts of interests which make up our democratic society.

Throughout his term in office President Eisenhower has paid outward homage to the Lincoln concept. He has emphasized his "dynamic" program. He has stressed the need for "leadership" and "executive responsibility." And yet he has held inwardly and rigidly to the Buchanan view.

The reasons are plain. For 20 years the Republican Party fought the Lincoln concept as a means of opposing strong Presidents who were Democrats. In turn, Eisenhower's life, shielded from political conflicts, issues and processes, has dictated an inactive role as national frontispiece.

Every new President moves to the White House with a fund of good will. Every strong President understands that part of his responsibility as Chief Executive is deliberately to expend that fund in the course of political battles, waged for the nation's good. Mr. Eisenhower brought to the White House perhaps the largest fund of personal good will in the nation's history. He has chosen to conserve his fund and the cost to the nation is postponement of issues that one day must be resolved.

At the calmest of times the Buchanan approach is risky. And the past two years have been far from calm. Given the tensions that threatened within and overseas, it was Mr. Eisenhower's task as Chief Executive to grapple with the great issues and, as party leader, to carry his party in the shortest possible time from the irresponsibili-

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ties of opposition to the responsibilities of power. This he has failed to do.

The most dramatic instance of the President's failure concerns the status of Sen. Joseph McCarthy. In the course of Eisenhower's first year in office, McCarthy organized what was perhaps the greatest challenge to the integrity of government and the American tradition that this country has ever withstood. He laid waste the State Department's Overseas Information Service, gutted the Voice of America, usurped the Executive's negotiating function, threatened the Central Intelligence Agency, and moved at last to bring the Army under his rule. The President doubtless loathed McCarthy, for McCarthy alone prohibited the realization of Eisenhower's concept of himself. Yet in response to McCarthy's two-year-long assault, the President maintained simply that he would not engage in personalities. Instead he opened the gates of the Executive power to McCarthy, placing his nominees in key government posts, and creating a climate of political surrender and moral cowardice in which the Secretary of State called for books to be burned that were on McCarthy's proscribed list.

Thus there was created what Walter Lippmann called "a constitutional crisis." And the President as much as the Senator was to blame. It was the abdication by President Eisenhower of his responsibilities that was a principal inducement to McCarthy to set himself up, in effect, as a second President on Capitol Hill. It was the Republican National Committee, Eisenhower's political mechanism, which sponsored McCarthy's "twenty years of treason" campaign of February, 1954. Thus Mr. Eisenhower, who took office to restore unity and calm to America, permitted himself to become the silent sponsor of what Lippmann called "this organized incitement to fratricidal division of our people." Even when McCarthy was brought to task for misuse of his powers, the President played little part in the Army hearings. *Time* magazine reported:

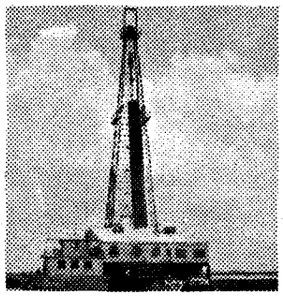
> The failure of Republican leadership—especially White House leadership—was strikingly seen in the handling of the McCarthy-Army affair. . . . Implicit . . . was the lingering hope that McCarthy could still be poured back into the party bottle and, in the future used only against Democrats. . . .

In our opinion this was the great issue of Mr. Eisenhower's first two years. The record on other major issues, as we see it, is presented below.

Resources

How To Halt Socialism

"You will recall," said President Eisenhower to the nation in his August 23 speech, "that there was even an attempt (under the Democrats) to take away from some of the states their own property, their own territory. We passed the tidelands bill to restore to these states . . . their proper lands."



The President is dead wrong. To begin with, the issue is not the tidelands which have always belonged to the states. It is the territory that stretches from the outer limit of the tidelands to the three-mile mark and beyond. That territory cannot be taken from the states or returned to the states because, as the Supreme Court held in 1947, it has never belonged to the states. The Court declared (*in US vs. California*):

"The federal government rather than the state has paramount rights in and power over that (3 mile) belt, an incident to which is full dominion over the resources of the soil under that water including oil."

Texas and Louisiana appealed this ruling. In two more decisions the Court, in 1950, rejected their appeals. All three states then chose to ignore the Court. Their legislatures passed laws purporting to extend the state boundaries out 3 miles to sea in the case of California, 27 miles in the case of Louisiana, and in the case of Texas, as much as 150 miles. In 1952 a coalition of leading Republicans and coastal state Democrats backed up these claims by enacting legislation transferring territory under the "traditional boundaries" to the states. It was a reckless act from the point of view of security, and it violated the spirit of the Constitution which forbids the Congress to give away the property of the United States. For these reasons President Truman vetoed the bill.

Adlai Stevenson could have gained widespread organization support by backing the coastal states. Instead he went to Texas and Louisiana and declared, "I accept and abide by this ruling in common with all Supreme Court decisions."

Mr. Eisenhower's views developed in a different way. His backers were attempting to win the Texas delegation then pledged to Senator Taft. But Taft was a sponsor of the bill to give Texas the offshore oil. From Europe Eisenhower wrote his Texas spokesman, Jack Porter, that he opposed federal ownership of offshore oil as harmful centralization of government. Later Eisenhower

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conceded that he hadn't known at the time of the three Court decisions. "I am one who obeys the Supreme Court," he said. But on August 23, 1954, he spoke once again as if the rulings had never been handed down.

Eisenhower's attitude was not only historically shaky; it was unsound from the point of view of the nation's security that he was charged with protecting. The Paley Commission on Materials Policy reported in 1952:

"The gravest problem is the threat to the wartime security of the free world implicit in the pattern of the world's oil supply that is taking place."

Security, the Commission found, demanded the conservation of oil resources in the Western Hemisphere. It looked on the 15 billion barrels of our offshore oil as a priceless national asset, to be guarded and developed in relation to national needs.

The logical method was continued federal ownership coupled with a mutually acceptable sharing of the royalties on offshore oil. Rep. Sam Rayburn of Texas proposed such a plan. Stevenson endorsed it, and it was widely supported in the Congress in 1953. But Eisenhower who had carried Texas and California supported a transfer of ownership up to the three-mile mark. The Senate bill went further in leaving the future of oil beyond the three-mile mark in doubt. So Congress transferred to the state legislatures ownership and with it the power to determine prices and royalties on $40 billion worth of offshore oil. Because state legislatures are historically more subservient to special interests, the transfer was justly termed the first great giveaway.

THERE WERE many more giveaways in 1953 and 1954, of forests, grazing lands and some aspects of atomic development. But one, ordered by Eisenhower himself and set in motion by his office, was more raw than all the rest. It involved a back door attack on TVA.

As a candidate Dwight Eisenhower pledged himself to protect TVA. His first test came in 1953. To meet expanding power needs in its own territory TVA sought a 600,000 kilowatt plant to supply electricity to the Memphis area. It requested funds and in turn surveyors of the Army Engineers picked the site for a new TVA plant in Fulton, Missouri.

In New York, two financiers associated with the old and discredited Electric Bond and Share Company made a counter move. They proposed to build a substitute plant across the river at West Memphis, Arkansas, to feed private power into the TVA system.

The site they chose was below flood level, on the wrong side of the river, and 200 miles from the area to be served. The federal government, in this "private enterprise" plan, was to pay construction costs, to reimburse the syndicate for all federal, state and local taxes, and on top of all this to guarantee profits for 25 years. This plan was transparently a raid on the Treasury and beyond this an opening move in a campaign to infiltrate and ultimately transform the TVA.

In the White House and the Bureau of the Budget, the President's aides backed the plan, sponsored by Edgar Dixon and E. A. Yates. TVA, however, had many defenders. Moreover TVA was legally forbidden to make 25-year contracts. So the Dixon-Yates syndicate and the White House aides brought in the Atomic Energy Commission as contracting agent. Three of the five AEC Commissioners opposed the contract. They called it "awkward," "unbusinesslike," and "irrelevant to the mission of the AEC." President Eisenhower then intervened to order the Commission to conclude the contract with Dixon-Yates. Thus he interfered in the administration of an independent agency, and made this non-partisan agency the instrument of one side in a bitter political fight.

KEY provisions in the contract that vitally affected TVA were prepared and approved without TVA's knowledge or consent. When TVA experts read the contract they demonstrated at once that it was grossly unfair. Dixon-Yates then reduced by $23 million their estimate of the cost of the plant. Yet in testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, TVA witnesses maintained that over the life of the contract, the Dixon-Yates scheme would cost taxpayers $140 million more than the Fulton plant. The Bureau of the Budget claimed in reply that the excess cost would be only $90 million. The AEC went further. According to a letter of August 26 from Acting TVA Chairman Harry A. Curtis to the Bureau of the Budget, General K. D. Nichols, General Manager of the AEC, undertook in testimony before the Joint Committee "to discredit and . . . disparage TVA's performance under existing contracts . . . and to impugn the integrity and good faith" of TVA management.

Two outside witnesses then verified the TVA story in New York. Walter von Tresckow, leader of a second private syndicate, charged that the Bureau of the Budget figures "were deliberately inaccurate and misleading." In Jackson, Mississippi, J. D. Stietenroth, Secretary-Treasurer of the Mississippi Power and Light Company, declared that the company, owned indirectly by Dixon and his associates, had kept two sets of books to conceal its profits and had bled consumers in Western Mississippi of $2 to $3 million a year in excessive rates.

Confronted with the facts, President Eisenhower once more pleaded ignorance. He hadn't known that TVA and the three AEC Commissioners were opposed to the Dixon-Yates deal. Giving his familiar rationalization a surprising twist, Mr. Eisenhower held that the Dixon-Yates contract should none the less be signed because it would then provide time for further study of the area's power needs. Thus he justified the use of tax funds to finance a private utility attack on the public power system he was sworn to protect.

Following his lead, Congress enacted a general amendment to the Atomic Energy bill which in effect authorized the AEC to sign the Dixon-Yates contract.

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TAXES

"They Passed an Enormous Bill"

"THEY passed an enormous tax revision bill," said President Eisenhower in his speech to the Nation of August 23 on the accomplishments of the 83rd Congress. To the President the tax bill was the major achievement of the Congress because, in addition to being enormous, it was of direct benefit to the people of the United States.

On the enormity of the bill there is no dispute. Who is benefited is another matter.

In his message to Congress of January 21, 1954, the President first explained his tax program:

"The objective will be to return to the people to spend for themselves in their own way the largest possible sharing of the money that the government has been spending for them."

Eight months later when the program was adopted and the Congress had adjourned the President reported that his objective had been achieved. As he described the new tax law to his radio and television audience, it consisted substantially of tax relief granted to the great majority of the people. In particular he cited tax relief provided on child care, medical expenses, pensions, farm machinery and write-offs on new factories. He told his 30 million listeners:

> These tax reforms and reductions have saved you $7,400,000,000 a year. This is money you spend for yourself now instead of the government spending it for you . . . money for all the things you need to do.

At that, no doubt each one of the President's listeners felt richer. But the savings cited by the President in fact added up not to $7.4 billion but $821 million. This total amounted to nine cents in each dollar of tax revenue surrendered by the Eisenhower Administration in 1954. In turn almost one-half of this amount, in the provision for write-offs on new factories went not to the President's many listeners but to a small number of corporations. The benefits claimed by President Eisenhower on farm machinery amounted to about $1.20 a year for each farm family.

The truth was that the reforms presented by the President as the heart of the new tax law were in fact some of its minor aspects. The heart of the President's program, unmentioned by him, consisted of concessions to business so far reaching that one expert called the program "nothing less than a revolution in federal tax philosophy." This expert, Walter W. Heller, professor of economics at the University of Minnesota School of Business Administration, added:

> The 1,000 pages of the new law provide more special benefits and concessions for investment and business than any previous tax measure in history.

The tax bill, however, was only one of four measures of tax reduction adopted by the 83rd Congress in 1954. First, Congress allowed the Excess Profits Tax to expire at the end of 1953, at a saving to business and a loss to the Treasury of $1.6 billion a year. Next Congress permitted an 11-percent reduction in personal income taxes depriving the Treasury of a further $3 billion a year and benefiting principally high-income groups. Third the Congress over Administration protests reduced excise taxes by $1 billion a year. These forms of revenue were emergency wartime measures and their expiration was initiated by Democrats. They contributed, however, to the progressive nature of the tax structure and their elimination shifted the relative burden of federal taxation toward low-income groups. This trend was enormously advanced by the new tax bill.

In origin and in nature the bill was essentially class legislation, prepared by and for America's businessmen.

LIKE all tax measures, the bill first took shape in conferences between officials of the Treasury Department and the staff of the Joint Committee of the House and Senate on Internal Revenue Taxation. But while these servants of the public interest traditionally seek the comment of special groups in hearings when a draft bill is written, in the case of the Eisenhower bill, spokesmen of business organizations were called into conferences to help prepare the bill itself. Representatives of the US Chamber of Commerce were admitted from the start in meetings with government officials. A questionnaire proposed and drafted by the Chamber was mailed as a government document to 45,000 Chamber members with instructions to return their proposals on tax reform to the Joint Committee. "This pinpointed the interests of our members," a Chamber of Commerce official told the *Congressional Quarterly*.

The result was revolutionary as Professor Heller noted —in the sense that the nation's tax structure was reshaped in the interests of one group of Americans. The President presented the bill to Congress in January, 1954, as a measure to give the people's money back to

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the people. But the bill was more accurately described in the *New York Times* of January 24, 1954.

> The tax reform program that President Eisenhower laid before Congress this week seemed better than anything else to point up that his is a businessman's Administration. . . . Essentially and primarily the program will help business, big and little and thereby, it is argued, will help the country as a whole.

This interpretation of the Eisenhower bill was underlined by Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey. The bill was a good bill, he declared in his Congressional testimony of April 27, because it was good for big business. He added:

> [It] will encourage investment, so that business can expand and create more jobs. America needs big business. It requires big business, big enterprise to do all the things in big ways that a big country has to have.

The bill certainly contained new tax provisions and technical reforms that liberal economists had long advocated. But these were minor aspects in its total impact. It maintained for fiscal 1955 the high rate of 52 percent on corporate profits. But it narrowed the base on which corporations and high-income groups could be taxed. One provision alone in the Eisenhower tax bill, authorizing double-rate depreciation on new corporate assets, will yield business and cost the Treasury an estimated $19 billion over the next 18 years. A second provision on credit for income derived from dividends will save $500 million each year from now on for the eight percent of taxpayers who own stocks. A third provision on depletion allowances, by redefining the "property" on which claims for tax relief on wasting assets can be allowed, opens up a whole new area of tax avoidance in the oil, natural gas, sulphur and mining industries where existing tax loopholes have permitted enormous fortunes to be made. Appraising the full impact of the President's "well-balanced" tax bill over the effective life of its revisions, Democratic Party statisticians estimated that in every dollar of tax reduction 64 cents will go to the corporations, 30 cents to the 26 percent of our families with over $5,000 a year, and six cents to the 74 percent of our families with annual earnings of less than $5,000.

On March 9, 1954, the Republican majority of the House Ways and Means Committee reported out the new tax bill. The Majority called the bill "a long overdue reform measure . . . vitally necessary for the nation." The Minority conceded that revision of the tax laws was overdue. It held, however, that the real changes in the bill were in the realm not of technical detail but of tax philosophy. The Minority declared:

> Under the guise of removing obsolete language and inequitable provisions . . . the bill reduces taxes substantially for business, primarily corporations and a few selected groups of individual taxpayers. . . .
>
> The tax reductions . . . in this bill show a singular purpose to benefit a small minority of taxpayers at the expense of a substantial revenue loss to the almost complete exclusion of the average taxpayer. The bill exhumes the trickle-down theory of taxation of Alexander Hamilton and more recently Andrew Mellon. It was this theory which contributed greatly to the economic chaos of the 1930s.

The Minority position was not based on hostility to business. President Truman and his advisors had emphasized the need for high levels of capital accumulation. Harry Hopkins in New Deal days had criticized taxes on dividends as double taxation. A socialist critic, Colin Clark, had warned that corporate taxes in the United States had reached a level that was self-defeating from the point of view of private enterprise. And Randolph Paul in his textbook *Taxation in the United States* noted that the *New Republic* and the *Chicago Tribune* "strange bedfellows" were agreed on the dangers of the excess-profits tax and the form that taxes on corporate profits should take.

The Minority on the House Ways and Means Committee argued that for two reasons the Eisenhower program to shift the relative burden of taxation from business to consumers was misguided in 1954.

First the Minority challenged the Eisenhower concept that lower taxes on profits and dividends would lead to higher levels of capital investment and thus create more jobs. Instead, the Minority held, a shortage of capital funds was not a limiting factor in new investment in 1954, nor was taxation an important depressing factor. Here the Minority was well supported both by expert testimony and the record of the past. For if the Eisenhower concept was valid, history should record some inverse ratio between corporate taxes and corporate investment. Instead corporate investment rose to record levels under our highest peacetime tax rates. The reason was that in these years the markets for new products were assured.

THERE WERE very few issues on which President Eisenhower intervened, once his program was before Congress, to take his case to the nation and to demand that his position be sustained. On issues of housing, health, tariffs and foreign aid, the President remained silent while his programs were emasculated. On the tax bill, however, President Eisenhower moved in to block the rising support of the Minority plan. Ignoring the fact that his own measure deprived the government of $3.1 billion in revenues he held that the government could not afford to give up the $2.5 billion loss in revenues involved in a $200 increase in personal exemptions. Challenging the integrity of the Minority the President further accused its spokesmen of playing politics in an election year. His own bill, he insisted, was "carefully balanced," "fair to all" and "indispensable" to such diverse objectives as slum clearance, improved health, greater exports and "an improved Taft-Hartley

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Act." Once again he insisted to his millions of listeners that through his bill "the government is turning back to you about all that we expect to save this year. . . . So you can save or spend more of your own money as you personally desire."

Moving in to support of this position, business groups staged a major campaign to enact the Eisenhower tax bill, HR 8300. "The Chamber [of Commerce]," reported the *Congressional Quarterly*, has bombarded Congressmen, businessmen and civic leaders with multi-colored, illustrated pamphlets on 'double taxation' of dividend income, 'excess taxation' of enterprise earnings, the steep level of present tax rates and explanations of HR 8300."

The Minority proposal for increased exemptions was defeated in the House of Representatives by 204 to 210. The Senate adopted the bill on July 2 after a bipartisan group had reduced the dividend credits and eliminated a number of provisions including some unwitting measures which were unduly harsh in their impact upon the business group the Administration wished most to benefit.

Once before, in its "hard money" policy of raising interest rates, the Administration pressed a course dictated by business spokesmen and then repudiated it under pressure of mounting economic hardship. While the effects of the new tax law will be neither harmful nor beneficial during 1954, the unsound nature of its central assumptions as an approach to continuing prosperity seem certain to be revealed long before the elections of 1956.

SOCIAL SECURITY

A Major Domestic Advance

"ALL SORTS of social security programs have gone into effect on a widened basis, reaching more people and with more liberal payments. This brings to the average American home peace of mind and domestic security."

Thus in his speech to the nation of August 23, President Eisenhower held that his Administration had redeemed a major promise—to protect and extend the social gains of the New Deal.

The Social Security Act of 1935 was a major achievement of the New Deal. It established the first step toward federal systems of old-age insurance, unemployment insurance, and assistance to dependent old people and children. It operated successfully over 18 years. But they were years of rising prices and rising expectations. By 1953, when President Eisenhower took office, many reforms were required.

In the old-age insurance program, President Eisenhower was subjected to immediate pressure from business organizations to use social insurance contributions to pay flat-rate pensions in lieu of old age assistance. This plan would have relieved the federal budget of public assistance costs; it would also have wrecked the insurance system. To his credit the President rejected this plan. Instead he called for the extension of the contributory system. His proposals fell short of the reforms advocated by President Truman. The increase of benefits he sought barely counteracted the rise in the cost of living. However, the President's program which the Congress adopted brought 10 million more Americans under the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program and amounted to an important social advance gained for the nation by the Eisenhower Administration.

In unemployment insurance a special bulletin of President Eisenhower's Department of Labor set forth the weakness of the program after 18 years. In addition to minor inequities the bulletin cited three major faults:

> First, 16 million workers, one-third of our labor force, were not covered by the program.
>
> Second, the duration of benefits varied from state to state and generally was too short. Only 13 states provided benefits for as long as 26 weeks.
>
> Third, benefits were too low as a proportion of earned wages. The federal government and the states had held that 50 percent of the wage loss was the proper level for benefits. But while average weekly benefits rose from $11 to $23 between 1940 and 1953, average weekly wages of insured workers rose from $27 to $70. Benefits had fallen to less than 40 percent of wages in 34 states, and in five states to less than 32 percent of wages.

Accordingly, President Eisenhower called for important amendments to the unemployment insurance program. He proposed that Congress extend the program to an additional four million workers in private industry and to 2.5 million civil servants. He proposed that the states provide a national standard of 26 weeks in which benefits could be drawn. He urged that the level of benefits be raised "so that the payments to the great majority of the beneficiaries may equal at least half of their

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regular earnings." The President's Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security, a group made up of representatives of industry, labor and the public generally, went further in urging that maximum benefits be established at levels 60 to 70 percent of average wages.

Under the terms of the 1935 law, the power to determine the duration and amount of benefits rested in the 48 states. A major reform, long urged by advocates of a sound social security system, was federal action to bring about compliance by the 48 states with minimum national standards. The Eisenhower Administration decided against any such requirement. Instead, James Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, wrote to the Governors of the 48 states. "At the suggestion of President Eisenhower" he urged them to adopt the minimum standards that President Eisenhower held to be necessary for the nation's economic and social well being.

Fourteen of the state legislatures were in session when Mitchell's plan was received. Not one paid any attention. Nor did the President or Mitchell take further action to carry out their recommendations.

In one area, however, the President was in a position to act on his own. The District of Columbia is under federal jurisdiction and thus in the District the President in calling for enactment of his unemployment insurance program was addressing himself as governor while Mitchell in urging its adoption was mailing his letter to himself as commissioner of labor.

IN THE District of Columbia average benefits in February, 1954, were $20 a week. The adoption of the President's recommendation of benefits "at least half . . . regular earnings" required an increase of benefits to $44 a week. But this recommendation was rejected by the District of Columbia Unemployment Commission. Instead the commissioners maintained that the word "beneficiaries" in the President's message referred, not to insured workers but to those who had regularly collected benefits during recent prosperous years—that is to the generally unemployable group. On the basis of this interpretation the Commission set a ceiling on benefits of $33 a week.

Leading members of the President's Federal Advisory Council concluded that the Commissioners were challenging the whole basis of the President's recommendations. They maintained that unless the President repudiated the action of the Commissioners all pressures upon the states to grant adequate benefits would collapse. In considerable concern the Council sought the views of the White House. It was then learned that the President's message, first drafted by the Department of Labor had been revised at the White House. It was learned further that the ambiguous term "beneficiaries" was the work of a White House draftsman, Gerald Morgan, who in turn was law partner of Leonard Calhoun, a social security consultant, and Counsel to the District of Columbia Board of Trade.

The President's Advisory Council was informed that the Department of Labor had agreed to $30 a week as a ceiling on benefits for the District of Columbia. It wrote to Mitchell asking whether the $30 ceiling met the President's standards. It has received no reply.

Instead, when the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act was submitted to Congress, a more basic attack on the fundamental principles of social security was introduced by D. C. Board of Trade lobbyists and written into law by the Republican majority.

THE FEDERAL social security system has operated on the assumption that the continued inability of the unemployed worker to find a job reflects a condition of the labor market beyond his control. Accordingly, if a worker quits his job his maximum unemployment benefits, ranging from 12 to 26 weeks according to his residence, have been delayed but not cancelled. In passing the District of Columbia bill, however, the Republican majority provided that nine of the 20 weeks of benefits available in the District of Columbia would be cancelled for workers who quit their jobs.

Since the enactment of the Social Security Act disqualification of claims for unemployment insurance has been a constant source of danger to the program. Under the terms of the 1935 Act the tax rate paid by employers has been adjusted according to the employment records of each firm. In turn the records are determined by the number of successful unemployment claims filed by employees. So an incentive has existed for each firm to seek to disqualify as many as possible of the claims filed.

Many firms have resisted this incentive. Others have seen in the extension of grounds for disqualification a means of cutting back the impact of social security even while its coverage is increased. In one form or another Alabama, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin have adopted legislation to cancel the credits of workers who voluntarily leave their jobs. So the example set by the President bears on a nation-wide controversy.

In general, the Social Security bill was the Administration's one outstanding success. In contrast, in health and education, the Adminstration accomplished almost nothing. While the nation is short now by 340,000 classrooms and 75,000 teachers, the Administration postponed all action for two years. And while President Eisenhower called "good health for all' a federal responsibility, his bill to provide $25 million for the reinsurance of private insurance plans was generally discounted by professional and consumer groups. While the President told Congress that "the Public Health Service should be strengthened in its research activities," he proposed budget cuts in 1953 and 1954 of 35 to 55 percent for research into cancer, arthritis, heart disease and mental health.

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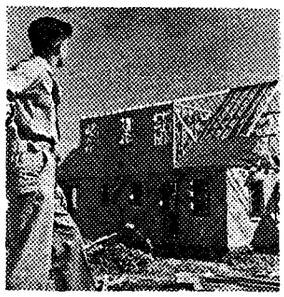
HOUSING

"Through to the Finish..."

"TAKE HOUSING," said President Eisenhower in his speech to the nation of August 23 on the record of the 83rd Congress, "the housing measures enacted by Congress and the programs of this Administration that will be fought through to the finish will make it certain that every American has an opportunity for a decent home. . . ."



If true, that was good news to 40 million citizens who need new housing. For 15 million of our homes are substandard according to the 1950 census, and 10 million are beyond repair. President Eisenhower himself had declared in his message on housing of January 25, 1954, "Millions of our people still live in slums. Millions more live in rundown, declining neighborhoods."

"The national interest," President Eisenhower affirmed in his January 25 message "demands the elimination of slum conditions. . . ." But how? For slum clearance means the relocation of the low-income families that live in slums, and private enterprise is just not building homes for this income group. Only a family with annual earnings of $5,000 and over can afford the new homes that private builders are offering for sale today and only a third of this nation's families earn $5,000 or more a year.

For 13 months after it took office, the Eisenhower Administration struggled with this problem, torn as it was between its commitment to end slums and its equal commitment to take government out of business. At last, in the January 25 message, President Eisenhower took his stand. "I submit herewith," he wrote Congress, "measures designed to promote the efforts of our people to acquire good homes and to assist our communities to develop wholesome neighborhoods in which American families may live and prosper."

Good housing, said President Eisenhower, was vital both for good citizenship and for full employment. And good housing was further "essential to the economic and social well-being of our country." Thus housing, he maintained, was a proper concern of the national government. To achieve good housing for *all* Americans, the President added, "the federal government must provide aggressive and positive leadership."

The tasks of leadership were already well defined in 1954. They were laid out very clearly in the Housing Act of 1949. That Act appraised the nation's inheritance of slums and aging homes, and its shortage of housing caused by years of depression, war, and rising population. It treated the 30 percent of American families with incomes of less than $3,000 as the critical problem. To move these families out of slums, and to provide them with living space, it authorized 810,000 units of low-rent public housing to be built in six years.

There was nothing "socialistic" about the 1949 Act. The capital cost of constructing the public housing was to be borne by private funds. The federal government would pay principally for the difference between the costs of operating low rental projects and the amount that tenants could afford. The cost of this major program was estimated to be around $150-$250 million annually at its peak and it did not alarm a leading author and supporter of the Act--Sen. Robert A. Taft. It was Taft's view that while slums were prevalent and low-rental housing scarce, public housing should amount to 10 percent of all new housing, or around 100,000 units a year.

LOCALLY and nationally private builders fought against public housing while they continued to reap huge windfalls from the manipulation of loans granted by the Federal Housing Authority. Their leading spokesmen in Congress were Reps. John Phillips (R, Calif.) and Norris Cotton (R, N.H.). These two men, together with Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.) and Albert Cole (R, Kan.), managed a successful fight in 1950, 1951 and 1952 to nullify the promises of the 1949 Act. "This is not a matter of economy," said Senator Taft in condemning their campaign. "It is merely an effort to stop the public housing program."

In 1953 President Eisenhower took office. He was committed to carrying out the 1949 Act. His choice for this task as Housing Administrator was Albert Cole.

By the terms of the 1949 Act at least 135,000 units of public housing should have been authorized in 1953. The Eisenhower Administration proposed 35,000 units to Congress and accepted without complaint the 20,000 that Congress finally allowed. Rather than fighting out 1953's needs in 1953, President Eisenhower chose to appoint an Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs to review the entire housing picture.

The Committee submitted its report in December, 1953. It made no effort to assess the nation's housing needs, or to determine construction goals. It did not relate requirements for the construction industry to continuing full employment. It dealt largely with methods

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of aiding the home-building industry in maintaining high levels of construction, and in indicating some more effective means for attacking spreading slums and growing urban decay.

The report was appraised by Ira Robbins, President of the National Housing Conference, a representative group dedicated to promoting the progress of the 1949 Housing Act. "In the light of the makeup of the President's Advisory Committee," said Mr. Robbins, "the report is much better than we anticipated. But," he concluded, "the report is a pretentious but ill-considered study, and a retrogression from the statesmanlike approach taken by Senator Taft."

THE President's Advisory Committee did affirm that "to wipe out existing slums and to check the spread of blight" was "a major goal of our housing program." It added, "A piecemeal attack on slums simply will not work—occasional thrusts at slum pockets in one section of a city will only push slums to other sections unless an effective program exists for attacking the entire problem of urban decay." It recommended that, "The program of subsidized low-rent public housing as enacted . . . in the Housing Act of 1949 be continued."

All this was incorporated in President Eisenhower's Message to Congress of January 25, 1954. The President set forth the nation's urgent needs. He called for positive action. He presented the Housing Act of 1954, an over-all measure that covered almost every aspect of federal aid, but was silent on public housing. "While it puts great stress on the rebuilding of American cities," noted the newsletter of the National Housing Conference, "it provides wholly inadequate tools for low-cost and low-rent homes in the areas of greatest need."

The public housing provisions of the President's Message presented the greatest gap between pretensions and proposals. "We shall continue at a reasonable level the public housing program authorized by the Housing Act of 1949," President Eisenhower told the Congress. He then said: "I recommend therefore that the Congress authorize construction during the next four years of 140,000 units of new public housing to be built in annual increments of 35,000 units." That level was less than one-sixth of the amount required for the attainment of the objectives set by the 1949 Act.

For the remainder of the 83rd Congress, however, Democrats fought to carry out the President's program, while Republicans opposed it. The President himself looked on in apparent unconcern.

No sooner was the Message sent to Capitol Hill than the Eisenhower Administration gave ground to the Republican opponents of public housing. In presenting identical bills to the House and Senate, the Administration agreed to withdraw any recommendation as to the number of public housing starts. Representative Wolcott, now Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee by virtue of the Eisenhower election victory, was quick to take advantage of the President's retreat. He threw the public housing provisions of the 1954 bill to the House Appropriations Committee whose opposition to public housing was well established.

In the Appropriations Committee a Democrat, Rep. Sidney Yates (Ill.), took up the fight on behalf of the President's program that the President had permitted to slip away. Yates' motion to carry out the President's bill by approving 35,000 units a year was considered and voted down with just two of the Committee's 30 Republicans supporting their party leader. Then, by a margin of 26 to 10 the Committee voted to authorize 20,000 units already under contract. It added that when these, and a further 15,000 units under existing contracts had been completed, the program would come to an end.

In late March the President's emaciated bill reached the House floor. There once again two Democrats, Spence (Ky.) and Rep. Richard Bolling (Mo.), organized the fight for the President's program that the Republican leaders would not touch. Despite their efforts Eisenhower's public housing program, his "major objective of national policy," was defeated by 211 to 176. The Republicans voted 150 to 48 *against* the Republican President. The Democrats voted 127 to 61 *for* the program.

In May, 1951, the housing bill went before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. There a third Democrat, the late Sen. Burnet Maybank (S.C.), gained Committee approval of his motion to authorize 135,000 low rental housing units a year. Maybank later abandoned the struggle when a Supreme Court action seemed to him to foreshadow the end of segregation in public housing projects. Under Democratic pressure, however, the Senate authorized 35,000 units a year for four years. This measure joined the House bill in conference. There once again the opponents of public housing went to work. The Republican majority of the conferees endorsed an amendment to the 1954 bill permitting a maximum of 35,000 units *for one year only*, under conditions so restrictive that it seems doubtful that 15,000 units will be built.

The National Housing Conference news letter reported a top Republican conferee as stating "we took the President off the hook and killed public housing at the same time."

IN THE Senate advocates of low rental housing denounced the conference report. Both New York Sens., Irving Ives (R) and Herbert Lehman (D), opposed it as a sham. The principal Senate spokesman for the 1949 Act, John Sparkman (D, Ala.) called the conference report "the planned execution of the public housing program." However, the Democratic "leader" Lyndon Johnson endorsed the conference report. It was adopted by 59-21 on July 28 in the Senate (see Senate vote, page 20). In the House the key vote came on a motion by Rep. Brent Spence (D, Ky.) who moved to recommit

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the conference report with instructions to the committee to substitute the original Eisenhower program on public housing. Fifty Republicans supported the Spence amendment; 155 opposed it. In contrast, the Democrats supported this effort to enact the President's program by 105-79. So the motion was defeated by 156 to 234 on July 20, 1954.

Thus the Republican Party in Congress killed the measure that President Eisenhower held to be "essential to our economy and social well-being." The public housing program is thus gutted; our 10 million substandard homes remain. Private construction has fallen and is now one-half the estimated level of two million new units required each year to clear our slums and to provide for our new families. The record of two years makes a hollow sound of President Eisenhower's claim that "the housing measures enacted by Congress and the programs that will be fought through to the finish will make certain that every American has an opportunity for a decent home."

TARIFFS AND TRADE

McKinley Went Too Far

"IF WE FAIL in our trade policy," President Eisenhower told the 83rd Congress on March 30, 1954, "we may fail in all. Our domestic employment, our standard of living, our security and the solidarity of the free world—all are involved."

The policy advocated by the President was one of lower tariffs: the record of two years indicates that he has largely failed.

The purpose of our trade policy has been to maintain high levels of employment in America and to promote living standards overseas consistent with our own safety as a part of the free world. The means established by the Roosevelt Administration in 1934 was the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program. It permitted mutual action to lower trade barriers that led by 1949 to agreements with 45 countries covering 75 percent of US foreign trade. It lowered the average tariff rate on dutiable imports into this country from 59 percent in 1933 to 26 percent in 1946 and 12 percent in 1952. It helped to raise our imports from $1.6 billion in 1934 to $11 billion in 1952.

Since 1945 the dislocation caused by war and independence has opened a gap between US imports from the free nations and the export of US goods required to maintain their economic and political stability. The investment of private US funds has never covered more than one-fifth of this gap. The remainder has been made up by the transfer from 1946 to 1952 of $32 billion in aid.

Yet aid has been regarded as a short-term emergency device to permit the free nations to move toward self-sufficiency. In the words of Howard Piquet, a leading authority on trade: "Since the close of World War II the free world has been using economic aid to buy time—time in which to postpone the making of decisions that can be postponed no longer."

Five major commissions were appointed by President Truman between 1949 and 1952 to report on trade policies. All were led by businessmen, and all supported without dissent legislation to remove the remaining barriers on imports to the United States. This was also the objective Mr. Eisenhower voiced prior to November, 1952.

The Republican Party in contrast stood traditionally for high tariffs. In fact its use of the tariff in cementing a powerful political alliance after the Civil War was described by a leading political scientist, E. E. Schattschneider, as "one of the most notable political achievements in American history."

The nation as a whole, and the bulk of American industry and agriculture plainly benefited from the Trade Agreements Program. But the Republican Party in its 1936 platform called the program "futile . . . dangerous . . . and destructive" and pledged itself to its repeal. Rep. Daniel Reed, ranking Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, spoke for the Congressional Republicans when he declared: "On Constitutional grounds it is the duty of Congress to permit the Reciprocal Trade Agreements system to die a natural death."

The victory of Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 raised Reed and his fellow diehards to the chairmanships of key Congressional committees. It also gave new emphasis to two conflicting objectives in Republican foreign policy—to reduce overseas economic aid, and to prevent the free nations of the world from exporting their products to alternative markets behind the Iron Curtain. Given this emphasis in US policy our allies turned with urgent emphasis to stress the remaining economic remedy: "Trade not Aid." The spokesmen of a large section of US heavy industry warmly endorsed this new view.

The Trade Agreements Act, itself an inadequate means for removing trade restrictions was due to die on June 12, 1953. And yet while he set forth the objective of free trade, President Eisenhower failed to make any recommendations on trade and tariffs during the winter and spring. He hedged on the tariff issue in his

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State of the Union speech of January, 1953. He next maintained that "partial self-sufficiency" could be of "terrific importance" for national security, thus apparently supporting tariffs for strategic goods and industries. He declared himself on February 25 in favor of "some kind of peril point or escape clause." That, he said, "represented somewhat the middle way." He had promised "a long-term consistent program . . . directing all of our economic power toward reviving free world economics and trade as a whole." But, overriding the protests of Secretary Dulles and Harold Stassen, the President rejected a British bid for four generators and 10 transformers on the Chief Joseph damsite that was lower by $1 million than the lowest American bid.

Given this abdication by the executive, the high tariff lobby on Capitol Hill took the initiative. A leading spokesman for the lobby was Rep. Richard M. Simpson, (R, Pa.), second-ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee. On March 30, 1953, Simpson introduced a bill which purported to extend the existing Trade Agreements Act for one year and in fact shot it through with holes.

Confronted by this challenge President Eisenhower asked Congress to extend the Trade Agreements Act without *major* changes. He explained his position at a White House luncheon to Reed and Simpson who left declaring that their views were unchanged. Later on the same day President Eisenhower sent to Congress his nominee for the governing body on trade restrictions, the Tariff Commission. His man, sponsored by Reed, was John Talbot, a former Congressman who had been one of the diehard core of high tariff legislators who opposed the program from beginning to end.

For the rest of the 1953 session the White House limited its activity to half-hearted opposition to the Simpson bill.

THE BILL prohibited imports of petroleum and petroleum products above fixed quotas. It restricted imports of lead and zinc by means of a sliding scale of tariffs. It proposed to stack the bipartisan Tariff Commission with more men like Talbot by increasing the Commissioners to seven. It denied even to a Republican President the right to reject the recommendations of the Commission—for President Eisenhower had rejected an order raising tariffs on the insignificant but highly symbolic matter of briar pipes.

In public testimony on the bill the Eisenhower Administration seemed utterly confused. The Under-Secretary of State and two Assistant Secretaries declared that the Simpson bill could destroy the Trade Agreements program. Secretary Dulles (who had supported the "peril point" amendment while serving in the Senate) refused to back up his subordinates and indicated that while he didn't support the bill in 1953, he might favor it in 1954. Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks went further and plainly favored higher tariffs. Harold Stassen, Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, vigorously opposed the bill. As if to repudiate Stassen, President Eisenhower chose as his Assistant Secretary of Interior in charge of mineral resources, Felix Wormser, a former President of the American Lead Institute, whose plan to restrict imports formed the basis of the lead and zinc provisions of the Simpson bill.

DEPRIVED of leadership from the Administration, the supporters of the Trade Agreements program developed enough strength to bring about the division of the Simpson bill into two measures, one to extend the Trade Agreements Act for one year, the second to write all the restrictive measures of the original bill into the new Act.

The Administration disliked the second bill. But meanwhile a division had arisen between Rep. Reed and the White House on the matter of tax reduction. The Administration maintained that substantial tax reduction in 1953 would force an unwarranted budget deficit or else a dangerous reduction in defense expenditures while Reed insisted that the tax reduction promised by the Republicans be placed before all other goals. Eventually a compromise was arranged, and because Representative Simpson was a leading force in bringing it about he was encouraged to bring his second bill to the House floor. There, lacking any real indication of leadership from the White House, the Republicans voted 104 to 105 against the bill. Its defeat was ensured only because the Democrats opposed it by 137 to 56.

So the Trade Agreements Act was extended *for one year*. By the terms of the same legislation a new commission of legislators and Presidential appointees was authorized to formulate a new policy on tariffs and trade. The Congress appointed its ranking leaders including Simpson, Reed and an extremely able advocate of high tariffs, Sen. Eugene Millikin (R, Colo.). The President appointed as the public members a diverse group ranging from Clarence Randall, head of the Inland Steel Company, to David McDonald of the United Steelworkers, CIO.

Rarely was the naïve approach of the President made more painfully obvious than in the Randall Commission. Not only were the views of the public members too divergent to yield a coherent report; under the guidance of the Administration Mr. Randall as Chairman directed all the endeavors of the Commission toward a vain effort to gain agreement with Reed, Simpson and Millikin. Evidently the President supposed that these men would abandon life-long convictions for the sake of unity with Randall and the CIO. Instead Simpson, Reed and Millikin insisted on concession after concession and then disavowed the report.

The report itself was a moderately useful document. Economists condemned it for its superficiality and inconsistency, but they forgot that it was less an economic appraisal than a political attempt to state the lowest com-

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mon denominator in tariff policy on which the majority of President Eisenhower's party could agree. The *Economist* did note the twin objectives of the Commission in writing a report "innocuous enough to be acceptable to the Taftite wing of the Republican Party, but strong enough to provide some basis of advance . . . toward the ideal of a single trading world." It concluded of the Commission members: "Nobody should be surprised that in striving to attain both objectives they have failed to attain either."

An alternate appraisal was made by Rep. John M. Vorys (R, Ohio), a member of the Randall Commission. In a speech commemorating the birth of Ohio's martyred President, Vorys declared: "I believe that the recommendations on tariffs and trade policies are in the true spirit of McKinley's last words."

Four major recommendations were made by the majority of the Commission: to terminate overseas aid; to provide new tax relief for private investment abroad; to modify the terms of the Buy American Act; and to extend the Trade Agreements Act for three years with certain new provisions for reducing tariffs. After a painful delay President Eisenhower strongly endorsed these recommendations saying, "If we fail in our trade policy we may fail in all." Low-tariff Republicans were thrilled. "Boldness has replaced hesitancy," cried the *New York Herald Tribune*. "The dominant note has changed from defensiveness to initiative." More soberly the *New York Times* noted that "The President has a fair chance to obtain a good deal of his program. But he will have to fight for it." In contrast the *Wall Street Journal* recorded on April 11, 1954: "The word on Capitol Hill is that every effort will be made to delay a full dress consideration of tariff matters until 1955 by which time members of both chambers will be safely over the hurdles of the November elections."

Once again the high tariff Republicans raised to power by the President's electoral victory, laid down their terms for agreement. This time it was to be lowered tariffs *or* social security extension, but not both. To underscore their determination a score of new high tariff measures were sent to the Ways and Means Committee. Clarence Randall was determined to fight. Other men around the President insisted that unity was the price of victory in the November elections and that Congress could do no wrong. Late in the day a low-ranking Republican, Rep. Robert Kean (R, N.J.), was induced to present the President's recommendations. Without any doubt a coalition of Democrats and free trade Republicans would have enacted the President's program for a three-year extension. Then without any warning President Eisenhower pulled the rug from under his own supporters by declaring, in a public letter of May 20, 1954, to a free trade businessman, that he would settle for a one-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act. The high tariff lobby of course was overjoyed. A Democratic motion to extend the Trade Agreements Act for three years was defeated by a unanimous Republican vote. So the one-year extension was enacted, and the basic issue postponed until after the elections, confirming the prophecy of the *Wall Street Journal* and leaving our allies in disillusionment and doubt.

Foreign Policy

"We're Certainly Not Licked . . ."

FIRST and last in President Eisenhower's speech of August 23 was foreign policy. First came the political claim for the gains registered under the Republicans. Last came the honest admission that the gains were illusory at best. The President told the nation:

"Don't be discouraged . . . we're certainly not licked. There's still something to be done [in Europe] and we're going to do it. We're going to develop better partnership in all parts of the world between us and our cooperating friends."

Thus the President granted that the nation had suffered a major setback in Europe while, across the world, free peoples have drifted apart. More outspoken, Walter Lippmann argued late in June that the assumptions of US policy were basically wrong. All this was known, added Lippmann, yet nothing was done. Why? Lippmann asked, and he answered:

"Because . . . the State Department is a paralyzed instrument of policy. It is a bureaucracy intimidated by demagogues. . . ."

By Republican demagogues; and associated with them in 1952 was the present Secretary of State.

The 1952 Republican platform was written largely by John Foster Dulles. It laid the world crisis at the door of the Democrats. Democratic Administrations, the platform affirmed, had "required" Nationalist China to surrender Manchuria to Russia: they had "substituted on our Pacific flank a murderous enemy for an ally and friend;" they had "traded our overwhelming victory for new aggressions and new wars."

The logic of this line was obvious. Democratic Administrations had caused the world crisis by deliberate design. It followed that by a simple change of parties in Washington the crisis could be resolved. Communist

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advances were brought about, not by Communist power but by Democratic sympathy for Communism. Therefore a Republican government which opposed Communism could not only roll back Soviet and Chinese power but could do this while lowering taxes, expenditures and overseas aid.

Senator Bricker

Throughout the campaign this line was pursued, vilifying the past, distorting the present, overselling the future. Dulles himself promised that the mere declaration of a "liberation" policy would win a bloodless victory over Communism by causing an "electric" effect within the Soviet world. Eisenhower in turn held that Truman had kept the Nationalists from attacking China, and promised that he would unleash Chiang Kai-shek. Thus the moral climate was created in which foreign policy was shaped in 1953 and 1954.

Once in power Dulles and Eisenhower attempted to break with their own immediate past. In many essentials they continued the foreign policy of Dean Acheson. whom Republicans had reviled. Where it remained vital and fresh, they succeeded. Where it was outmoded, they failed. At the same time the nature of the Cold War was changing. New challenges were created by the death of Stalin, the development of the Soviet bomb, the consolidation of the Chinese Communists. Rarely was the Eisenhower Administration able to adjust in a new spirit to this new time. "Instead of getting out of the ruts under Eisenhower," Lippmann commented, "the Department [of State] has gotten more deeply mired in them. The intimidated bureaucracy stays in the ruts because the old ruts are a safer place to be. . . ."

With its tremendous inertia, the destructive spirit of 1952 rolled on. Thus the Republican majority in the Senate, acting still in the manner of an irresponsible opposition, launched two major projects when Eisenhower moved into the White House. The first was an effort to rewrite history by passing a resolution repudiating the Yalta agreements. The second was an assault on the President's treaty-making powers. This second move, sponsored by Sen. John Bricker (R, Ohio), proposed to amend the Constitution to provide that any treaty to be valid must be supported by legislation "which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." The Association of the Bar of the City of New York concluded that the Bricker Amendment "would place in our Constitution a sanction for signing and ratifying agreements with tongue in cheek." Senator Bricker heartily agreed. His backers looked on the amendment as the first in a series of steps to undo the international commitments of the US including those to the United Nations. Bricker himself declared: "The UN is destined for an early demise."

The Eisenhower Administration moved to oppose the amendment. Its force was gauged by Eisenhower's Majority Leader, William Knowland (R, Calif.), who not only placed the amendment high on the Senate calendar but voted for it in a modified form. The Bricker Amendment failed by one to get the necessary two-thirds vote.

Throughout 1953 the strategic commitments of the United States were extended overseas. At the same time our military effort was reduced. The Air Force was cut by 15 percent in 1953. A further reduction in defense expenditures in the first Eisenhower budget was accompanied, on January 12, 1954, by the proclamation of the New Look. Sound policy in an era of nuclear weapons dictated a course of minimizing and localizing encounters as they broke out along the borders of the Communist world. Instead Dulles set out to prohibit all encounters by threatening to transform them into world-wide, atomic wars. Hanson Baldwin, military correspondent of the *New York Times,* noted the "inconsistencies" and "major dangers" in Dulles' new policy. He added: "Dollar motivation is probably the strongest of many reasons for the 'new look'."

OTHER free nations chose to reduce rearmament schedules in 1954. Therefore they lowered their diplomatic demands on the Communist enemy. The United States alone increased its demands while it reduced its means for their enforcement. Our bluff continued until the Communists called it in the Indo-China War. There, in defeat, the three major weaknesses of Eisenhower's foreign policy were exposed: the gap between pretension and reality; the abdication of executive authority, and the failure of the Administration to consult, let alone consider its allies.

First, the Administration grossly misinterpreted the true situation in South Asia. Vice President Nixon boasted, in his speech of March 13, 1954, that throughout the world Dulles and Eisenhower had the Communists on the run. Dulles in turn, although he knew that French colonialism was close to collapse, continued the pretense. Arriving at Geneva in April, 1954, he demanded that the Communists come on bended knee "to purge themselves of aggression."

Second, when the Administration wished to negotiate, it was paralyzed by its fear of Senator Knowland. Thus, at the opening of the Geneva conference, Walter Lippmann recorded the shocking fact that: "The United States is not now competent to make decisions." Lippmann added: "The question is—Will Senator Knowland permit a policy of united action? . . . If Mr. Knowland's answer is no . . . then our failure is certain and a great disaster will almost surely follow."

It was Knowland who was making policy—and Knowland's answer was *no.* At that the Eisenhower Administration brought the world to the edge of war. Twice during April, 1954, the Administration proposed using US carriers and planes to war upon the Viet-Minh. It even set a date, April 28, for the first air strike. "Such a harum-

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scarum operation," wrote Lippmann later, "could never have been ordered unless the decision had been already taken to engage in a general war in the Far East." That, in fact, was the decision of April, 1954. Vice President Nixon told the nation's newspaper editors that if necessary US troops would fight in Asia. Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was more than ready for a widening Asian war. President Eisenhower prepared the way by declaring that Indo-China was "transcendentally important" and that if it fell to Communism all Asia would fall.

"Almost every high official from President Eisenhower down," wrote Walter Lippman in May, 1954, "has been talking too big." The *London Economist* also blamed Dulles' "big Talk" for the May crisis. "The 'liberation' bluff, the 'agonizing reappraisal' bluff, the 'instant and massive retaliation' bluff—all these have been discovered to mean much less than they appeared to," wrote the *Economist*. "The result has been to frighten America's allies much more than to impress the Communists." But if Dulles was bluffing on Indo-China, Radford and Knowland were not. They were ready for war, and the President was following along. Only the refusal of Britain, the Commonwealth countries and the Democrats of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to sanction the adventure saved Eisenhower from the worst blunder of his career.

If war was avoided by good fortune, disaster was not. For the loss of Northern Indo-China the Eisenhower Administration is not responsible. But its conduct did isolate the US and magnify the Communist victory. In the *Christian Science Monitor* on May 4, Joseph C. Harsch appraised the US defeat.

> We have exposed before us the postwar low point in American influence, prestige and power in world affairs. This is the first time since the war that . . . American policy has marched up the hill of a declaration that a particular part of the world must be saved from Communism and then collapsed into an admission that it is powerless to do anything . . . to save that place from Communism.

The purpose of the Indo-China settlement was to give France time and strength to ratify the European Defense Community. Instead the French Parliament killed the project that the US had made the key to its Western strategy. Mr. Dulles' reaction seemed to be an attempt to bring down the first government in postwar France that was attempting to set in order France's internal affairs. President Eisenhower certainly had reason for doubts in his August 23rd speech. Sharing the doubts and seeing beyond them, Lippmann noted that as long as the spirit of 1952 prevailed reappraisal itself was next to impossible. He wrote:

> The moral climate in this country has been too full of violence and suspicion to permit America to adjust itself . . . to the new realities. . . . Since in Washington there has been no true appraisal of the new situation of our alliances our allies have had to reappraise their alliances with us. . . . So our alliances are shaken and will almost certainly deteriorate further as long as Congress refuses to face the facts of life.

FARM

"We've Gotten a Program!"

"WHEN we took over," said President Eisenhower in his speech to the nation of August 23, ". . . farm income was toppling and we had such unmanageable surpluses . . . that there was literally nothing you could do as long as the growth of these surpluses wasn't checked to bring prosperity and the promise of real stability to the farmer."

"Now," the President went on "we've gotten a program that will encourage efficient production, will stimulate consumption and stabilize farm income. It has been fought through to almost exactly the terms on which it was presented to Congress."

If this were true when Republican candidates throughout the nation should be running on the basis of enthusiastic endorsement of the Republican farm program. Instead they are doing their best to disavow it.

Typical is the report of Sen. Karl Mundt (R, S.D.) to his constituents of August 20, 1954. Mundt expresses his "personal disappointment" that the Eisenhower farm program was adopted by the 83rd Congress. He maintains that of the three leaders who secured passage of the bill two were Democrats (they were in fact the only two Democrats who fought for the new program). He claims that he was proud to stand beside such Democrats as Hubert Humphrey in fighting against the adoption of President Eisenhower's bill to save the farmers.

Farm income certainly was toppling, as President Eisenhower said, during his campaign in 1952. His cure as a candidate was something more than the current price supports: "I believe wholeheartedly and without any 'ifs' or 'buts' in . . . the present program insuring 90 percent of parity," he told a farm audience in September, 1952. In Kansas he rejected 90 percent in favor of "full parity."

Instead, in the first year of the Eisenhower Administration the price the farmer received for his produce fell

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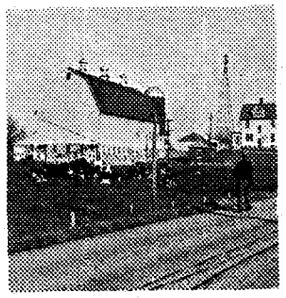
by 11 percent while his costs were reduced by 4 percent.

Throughout his first year in office, President Eisenhower was bound by the terms of the Agricultural Act of 1952 which required supports of 90 percent on wheat, cotton, corn, rice and peanuts through 1954.



On January 11, 1954, the President presented his new program to the Congress. His "moral commitment" to 90-percent supports, he claimed held only through 1954 when these supports were in any case legally binding. After the 1954 crop, he added, "the level of price supports will be gradually related to supply."

In the short run the President seemed to concede that his equation would not work; for existing surpluses and current crops would force support prices under the President's plan close to his new minimum of 75 percent of parity. To evade this provision the President proposed, in what the *Wall Street Journal* called "a legislative sleight-of-hand," to "set aside" $2.5 billion of existing surpluses thus "eliminating them from price-support computations."

In the long run, nonetheless, the President held that lower prices would save the farmers by reducing production and increasing consumption for basic products. But lowered prices at the farm are barely reflected in retail food prices. Thus, the balance sought by the President's program turns largely on the extent to which price reductions will force a reduction in farm output. The likelihood that this will happen was fully debated in Senate hearings in 1949. At that time Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan reviewed the record of 30 years.

In potatoes, prices fell from $1.94 to 66 cents between 1919 and 1922, from $1.70 to 52 cents between 1925 and 1929, and from $1.32 to 38 cents between 1929 and 1932. In each period farm acreage assigned to potatoes increased.

In wheat, prices fell from 1920 to 1924 and acreage fell only after three years. From 1925 to 1929 wheat prices fell and acreage increased. From 1929 to 1932 prices fell further; acreage remained almost constant.

In cotton, Brannan maintained, "price is an unreliable mechanism for adjusting acreage. Farmers have harvested as many or more acres after receiving prices of less than 10 cents as in the years after they received 30 and 35 cents."

In summary Brannan testified: "The fact is that it takes a depression price to effect substantial decreases in production and, judging by the record, even that will not do the job until the farmer is broke."

Brannan's solution was a system of payments to maintain farm income while farm prices found their own levels in free markets. The Brannan plan was denounced as "socialism" and "enslavement" by the Republican Party. Former President Herbert Hoover called it "fascism" in his address to the Republican National Convention. Mr. Eisenhower described it as "moral bankruptcy." Nonetheless on one important commodity, wool, the Brannan plan was adopted by the Administration in its new farm program. "We think it will cost no more money, probably less money, will be much simpler to operate, and will permit our own wool to move into consumption and not into government storage," said Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson.

Under the terms of the 1952 law the sliding scale of 75-90 percent supports would automatically have come into operation in 1955 had no action been taken by Congress in 1954. Thus the Administration might have avoided direct responsibility for a measure which it regarded as politically unpopular, if economically sound. However the Republican advocates of 90-percent supports insisted that if the program was to be enacted for wool it should be considered for all the basic crops. So a bill was submitted to carry out the Administration's new program. In the House of Representatives where legislators are most sensitive to political currents, the House Agriculture Committee opposed the President's program. The Committee led by Republicans maintained that the growth of surpluses was caused by the decline in exports and not the high level of supports. It branded as a "misconception" the President's belief that lowered farm prices would increase consumption or lower production, reduce surpluses or minimize government expense.

QUITE APART from the long-range validity of these views, they were geared to the problems of 1954. The Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report agreed early in 1954 that agriculture was in a recession. The recession deepened as the drought spread, and it was intensified by government action. Dairy farmers above all were in trouble. They had maintained gross income in 1954 only by a forced liquidation of livestock herds. In 1954 Secretary Benson lowered further the value of dairy products *and of herds and equipment as well,* by reducing dairy supports to 75 percent. Wheat farmers were facing equal problems in the near future. Existing laws provided for acreage reduction under wheat from 69 million acres to 55 million in 1955. In itself this measure reduced the loan value of the Montana wheat crop from $252 million in 1953 to $165 million in 1955. On top of this, the cut in price supports ordered by Benson threatened to eliminate net income on a large proportion of family farms. In turn, a deepening farm recession coming at a time of widespread unemployment, caused by insufficiency of purchasing power, threatened, like the Republican "hard money" policy to turn a minor economic setback into a major decline.

Had the President applied no more pressure on behalf

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of his farm program than he did on behalf of his "must" legislation for housing, health and trade, his bill would doubtless have been wholly lost. On the farm program, however, the Eisenhower Administration chose to fight. Secretary Benson toured the nation in support of his program. A former Congressman from Oklahoma, Ross Rizley, was appointed Assistant Secretary of Agriculture with an assignment that kept him in the House lobbies. Rep. Thomas G. Abernethy (D, Miss.) testified after the debate was over to the "terrific pressures and stringent disciplinary action" brought to bear by the Administration. In a prepared statement, he added:

> Many Republicans quietly complained that every possible method of disciplinary action was exercised to whip some of their colleagues into line. It was strongly rumored that officials of the Republican National Committee had told members . . . that unless they voted with the Administration no money would be made available for their forthcoming campaigns.

Despite these pressures the Administration program seemed certain to suffer defeat. Then, on the eve of the final House vote Rep. Robert Harrison (R, Neb.) proposed a compromise measure setting a new support level of 82.5 percent of parity. The compromise enacted by the House was at once endorsed by Secretary Benson and President Eisenhower and after bitter debate was adopted by the Senate. Far from providing "almost exactly" what President Eisenhower asked for (as he maintained on August 23), it gave him just 50 percent of his request. However, it did provide for a reduction to 75 percent of parity in price supports after 1955.

Among all the foreign and domestic programs advocated by the Eisenhower Administration, the farm program was the only one on which Administration leaders could claim with conviction that they had adopted a principled position and stood by it despite the appeals of political expediency. But this claim soured when, one month after Congress adjourned, Secretary Benson jettisoned the tightest part of his program limiting the total acreage that could be sown in feed grains by any farmer benefiting from price supports. By this action Benson reopened the largest gap in the existing program which farm experts agreed was self-defeating. He further opened the way to new surpluses in feed grains and thus undermined his central objective. Benson himself denied that political considerations influenced his action. His view was challenged in effect when, in Topeka, Vice-President Nixon declared that it would cut the rug from under the Democrats on November 2nd.

Civil Liberties

"Getting Rid of People..."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, on August 23, spoke of the "great matter" of controlling internal subversion. His Administration, he claimed, had set a record of "getting rid of people that shouldn't be here" and at the same time of "getting up the plan that will make us even better and stronger in the future."

"Getting rid of people" was accomplished principally by the extension, on May 28, 1953, of the Army's summary dismissal statute to all agencies and positions in the federal service. In addition President Eisenhower tightened standards of security and lowered standards of evidence. By these means the Eisenhower Administration managed to dismiss 1,456 civil servants in 12 months as security risks. This number was claimed by Republican leaders to consist of subversives. In fact it included gossips, habitual drunks, a few dead men, but not one known Communist. However, the new order made an exile of the interior out of J. Robert Oppenheimer, leader in the development of the atomic bomb. By its definition Gordon Clapp, head of the TVA, was held to be unemployable, and the former head of the WAVES was deemed a security risk. The appointment of Dr. William Carlos Williams as Poet in Residence at the Library of Congress was held up indefinitely on security grounds.

The "plan to make us stronger" consisted of Attorney General Brownell's "legislative package" of 1954. It was little to boast about. The Attorney General and the President, charged with protecting the nation's liberties, proposed more drastic curtailments of liberties than a Republican Congress was willing to accept. While the Administration bills were nominally aimed at Communists, they were in each case so loosely drawn that the strongest advocates of anti-Communist legislation were led to revolt.

One Administration measure concerned the granting of immunity from prosecution to witnesses before Congressional committees. For two years the Senate Judiciary Committee had proposed such a bill whose effect was to nullify the Fifth Amendment. Attorney General Brownell proposed to extend the power to grant immunity to US attorneys and to make the Attorney General the arbiter in sanctioning each grant. Once more, in order to protect civil liberties, the Congress provided for compulsory court orders under stricter restrictions than those proposed by the Attorney General.

A second measure pressed by the Eisenhower Administration concerned the legalization of evidence gained

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by wiretapping. Again the Eisenhower bill was nominally aimed at subversives, yet the Administration opposed any limitation of the purposes for which wiretapping could be used. "I hate to limit it to any particular crimes," said the Deputy Attorney General, William Rogers, in testifying on the bill. Nonetheless, to give the bill a political twist, Eisenhower's Majority Leader Rep. Charles Halleck labeled it "the anti-traitor bill." As if to underscore its political intent, Attorney General Brownell added as an amendment a retroactive provision that set the stage for the retrials of suspected subversives who had long since been exposed and driven from Washington. How far Brownell was driven by political considerations was indicated by his previous action late in 1953, in leaking selected excerpts from the FBI files under his care on the matter of Harry Dexter White.

The House of Representatives passed the Brownell wire tapping bill. The Senate defeated it under the guidance of Pat McCarran (D, Nev.). McCarran, author of a comprehensive wiretapping bill, denounced the Brownell measure as an unwarranted attack on personal privacy. "There is no greater invasion of privacy than a tapped wire," he said, "and the most stringent safeguards we can devise will be none too great."

Republican oratory apart, one field of legitimate concern in the field of subversion remained in 1954. It centered in six Communist-controlled trade unions, long since expelled from the CIO. After two years of study the House and Senate Judiciary Committees had control legislation ready for debate. Instead Brownell sent to Congress a bill to dissolve any labor union upon a finding that it was Communist-dominated. Again McCarran criticized the bill as so loosely drawn that "it creaks." The Democrats of the House Un-American Activities Committee vigorously opposed the bill as a threat to freedom. But all party lines were obscured when Sen. Hubert Humphrey substituted for the bill his own measure to outlaw the Communist Party. No hearings were held on the Humphrey proposal. It was pressed on political grounds and enacted in frantic haste. One of the few wise moves in the debate was made by Sen. Warren Magnuson (D, Wash.) who proposed a commission to reconsider the whole problem of internal subversion. The vote is given in our charts.

EXPLANATION OF VOTING CHARTS (PAGES 20-23) ON KEY ISSUES

Senate Votes

1) BRICKER AMENDMENT (February 26, 1954): NR supports a vote against the Constitutional Amendment limiting the President's power to enter into treaties and agreements with foreign powers.

2) RECIPROCAL TRADE (June 24, 1954): NR supports a vote for the Democratic bill incorporating the proposals of the President and the Randall Commission: 3-year extension of a liberalized Reciprocal Trade Act.

3) ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY (January 20, 1954): NR supports a vote for US participation with Canada in a project to open the St. Lawrence River to ocean-going vessels.

4) FOREIGN AID (August 3, 1954): NR supports a vote authorizing an appropriation of $2.7 billion for the Mutual Security Program during the coming year.

5) FARM PRICES (August 9, 1954): NR supports a vote against the compromise Omnibus Farm Bill that will lower price supports to 75 percent of parity after 1955.

6) TIDELANDS OIL (July 30, 1953): NR supports a vote against adoption of the Conference Report which deleted a provision for reserving revenue from the outer continental shelf for grants-in-aid to education.

7) DIXON-YATES-TVA (July 21, 1954): NR supports a vote against confirming an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act so as to authorize the Atomic Energy Commission to contract with any person to furnish electric power to TVA in replacement for TVA power sold to AEC.

8) PUBLIC HOUSING (July 28, 1954): NR supports a vote against adoption of the Conference Report limiting new housing authority to one year only, under crippling limitations.

9) TAX REVISION (June 30, 1954): NR supports a vote to amend the Administration's tax bill so as to eliminate special tax cuts on dividend income and increase personal exemptions from $600 to $700.

10) UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION (July 13, 1954): NR supports a vote to amend the Employment Security Act so as to establish nationwide standards for amounts and duration of unemployment compensation benefits.

11) OUTLAW COMMUNISTS (August 12, 1954): NR supports a vote to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act so as to establish a commission to recommend a coordinated program for security screening of persons in defense activities, and eliminate duplication in exisiting programs.

House Votes

1) RECIPROCAL TRADE (June 11, 1954): No better alternative being offered in the House, NR supports a vote for extending the Reciprocal Trade Act to 1955.

2) ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY (May 6, 1954): NR supports a vote for US participation with Canada in a project to open the St. Lawrence River to ocean-going vessels.

3) FOREIGN AID (June 30, 1954): NR supports a vote authorizing $3.5 billion for the Mutual Security Program during the coming year.

4) FARM PRICES (July 2, 1954): NR supports a vote against the compromise Omnibus Farm Bill that will lower price supports to 75 percent of parity after 1955.

5) UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION (July 8, 1954): NR supports a vote to recommit the Administration's Employment Security Bill with instructions to expand and improve the program.

6) TIDELANDS OIL (May 13, 1953): NR supports a vote against agreeing to the Senate Bill which deleted a provision for reserving revenue from the outer continental shelf for grants-in-aid to education.

7) TAX REVISION (March 18, 1954): NR supports a vote to recommit the Administration's tax bill with instructions to eliminate special tax cuts on dividend income and increase personal exemptions from $600 to $700.

8) PUBLIC HOUSING (July 20, 1954): NR supports a vote to recommit the Conference Report with instructions to include authority to build 140,000 units over four years.

9) PERMIT WIRETAPPING (April 8, 1954): NR supports a vote to amend the Administration's wiretapping bill so as to require a federal court order in each case.

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THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	1 Bricker Amendment	2 Reciprocal Trade	3 St. Lawrence Seaway	4 Foreign Aid	5 Farm Prices	6 Tidelands Oil	7 Dixon-Yates-TVA	8 Public Housing	9 Tax Revision	10 Unemployment Compensation	11 Outlaw Communists
ALABAMA											
Hill (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sparkman (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
ARIZONA											
Goldwater (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hayden (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
ARKANSAS											
Fulbright (D)	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
McClellan (D)	−	O	−	+	+	+	−	O	+	O	−
CALIFORNIA											
Knowland (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Kuchel (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
COLORADO											
Johnson (D)	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
Millikin (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
CONNECTICUT											
Bush (R)	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Purtell (R)	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
DELAWARE											
Frear (D)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
Williams (R)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
FLORIDA											
Holland (D)	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Smathers (D)	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
GEORGIA											
George (D)	−	−	−	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	−
Russell (D)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
IDAHO											
Dworshak (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Welker (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
ILLINOIS											
Dirksen (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	−
Douglas (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA											
Capehart (R)	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Jenner (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
IOWA											
Gillette (D)	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Hickenlooper (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
KANSAS											
Carlson (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Schoeppel (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
KENTUCKY											
Clements (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Cooper (R)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
LOUISIANA											
Ellender (D)	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	O	+	O	−
Long (D)	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
MAINE											
Payne (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Smith (R)	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
MARYLAND											
Beall (R)	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−
Butler (R)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
MASSACHUSETTS											
Kennedy (D)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Saltonstall (R)	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
MICHIGAN											
Ferguson (R)	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Potter (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	−
MINNESOTA											
Humphrey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thye (R)	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
MISSISSIPPI											
Eastland (D)	−	+	+	O	+	−	+	O	+	O	O
Stennis (D)	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a sound appraisal of the issues involved; the symbol [−] indicates an unsound appraisal. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears on page 19.

Votes compiled from reports of the *Congressional Quarterly*.

	1 Bricker Amendment	2 Reciprocal Trade	3 St. Lawrence Seaway	4 Foreign Aid	5 Farm Prices	6 Tidelands Oil	7 Dixon-Yates-TVA	8 Public Housing	9 Tax Revision	10 Unemployment Compensation	11 Outlaw Communists
MISSOURI											
Hennings (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Symington (D)	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
MONTANA											
Mansfield (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Murray (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA											
Reynolds (R)				−	−		−	−		−	−
Bowring (R)		−		+	−		−	−	−	−	−
NEVADA											
Malone (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
McCarran (D)	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	O	+	−	−
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
Bridges (R)	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Upton (R)	+	−	+	+	−		−	−	−	−	−
NEW JERSEY											
Hendrickson (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Smith (R)	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−
NEW MEXICO											
Anderson (D)	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
Chavez (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
NEW YORK											
Ives (R)	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
Lehman (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA											
Ervin (D)		−		+	+		−	−	+	−	−
Lennon (D)	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
NORTH DAKOTA											
Langer (R)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	+	O
Young (R)	−	−	+	−	+	O	+	O	+	+	−
OHIO											
Bricker (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Burke (D)	−	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
OKLAHOMA											
Kerr (D)	−	O	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	+	+
Monroney (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
OREGON											
Cordon (R)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Morse (I)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA											
Duff (R)	+	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−
Martin (R)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
RHODE ISLAND											
Green (D)	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pastore (D)	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA											
Johnston (D)	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Vacancy											
SOUTH DAKOTA											
Case (R)	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mundt (R)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
TENNESSEE											
Gore (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Kefauver (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
TEXAS											
Daniel (D)	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
Johnson (D)	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
UTAH											
Bennett (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Watkins (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
VERMONT											
Aiken (R)	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
Flanders (R)	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
VIRGINIA											
Byrd (D)	−	+	−	O	−	O	−	+	−	−	−
Robertson (D)	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON											
Jackson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Magnuson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA											
Kilgore (D)	+	−	−	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Neely (D)	+	−	−	O	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
WISCONSIN											
McCarthy (R)	−	O	+	−	+	−	−	O	−	−	−
Wiley (R)	+	O	+	+	+	O	−	O	−	−	−
WYOMING											
Barrett (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Crippa (R)				+	−		−	−	−	−	−

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THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

	Reciprocal Trade	St. Lawrence Seaway	Foreign Aid	Farm Prices	Unemployment Compensation	Tidelands Oil	Tax Revision	Public Housing	Permit Wiretapping
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALABAMA									
3 Andrews (D)	+	O	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
9 Battle (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	O
1 Boykin (D)	+	–	+	+	+	–	O	–	O
7 Elliott (D)	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	–	+
2 Grant (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	O	+
8 Jones (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Rains (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
4 Roberts (D)	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	–	O
6 Selden (D)	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
ARIZONA									
2 Patten (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	O	+	+
1 Rhodes (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
ARKANSAS									
1 Gathings (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
4 Harris (D)	O	–	+	+	O	–	+	O	+
5 Hays (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
2 Mills (D)	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
6 Norrell (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
3 Trimble (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
CALIFORNIA									
7 Allen (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 Bramblett (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
6 Condon (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Engle (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
10 Gubser (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Hagen (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
12 Hunter (R)	–	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
11 Johnson (R)	O	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	+
4 Mailliard (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	O	–
8 Miller (D)	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O
3 Moss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
29 Phillips (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	O
1 Scudder (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Shelley (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
27 Sheppard (D)	O	+	+	O	+	–	+	–	+
28 Utt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
30 Wilson (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Younger (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Los Angeles County									
23 Doyle (D)	O	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
21 Hiestand (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
25 Hillings (R)	+	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	–
20 Hinshaw (R)	+	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	–
19 Holifield (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
22 Holt (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 Hosmer (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
16 Jackson (R)	O	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
17 King (D)	O	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
15 McDonough (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
24 Lipscomb (R)	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	–
26 Yorty (D)	O	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O
COLORADO									
4 Aspinall (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Chenoweth (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Hill (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Rogers (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CONNECTICUT									
3 Cretella (R)	+	–	+	–	–	O	–	+	+
1 Dodd (D)	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
4 Morano (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
5 Patterson (R)	–	+	+	–	O	–	–	+	–
AL Sadlak (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2 Seely-Brown (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
DELAWARE									
AL Warburton (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
FLORIDA									
2 Bennett (D)	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
1 Campbell (D)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
7 Haley (D)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
5 Herlong (D)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
4 Lantaff (D)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
8 Matthews (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
6 Rogers (D)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
3 Sikes (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+

	Reciprocal Trade	St. Lawrence Seaway	Foreign Aid	Farm Prices	Unemployment Compensation	Tidelands Oil	Tax Revision	Public Housing	Permit Wiretapping
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
GEORGIA									
10 Brown (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
4 Vacancy									
2 Pilcher (D)	O	–	+	+	O	–	+	–	+
5 Davis (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3 Forrester (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
9 Landrum (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
7 Lanham (D)	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	–	+
1 Preston (D)	O	–	+	+	O	–	+	–	+
6 Vinson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
8 Wheeler (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
IDAHO									
2 Budge (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Pfost (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ILLINOIS									
16 Allen (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	O
17 Arends (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
25 Bishop (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
19 Chiperfield (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	O	O
21 Mack (D)	+	–	+	–	+	O	+	+	+
15 Mason (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
24 Price (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Reed (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Simpson (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
22 Springer (R)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
18 Velde (R)	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
23 Vursell (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Chicago—Cook County									
3 Busbey (R)	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
13 Church (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Dawson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
8 Gordon (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O
10 Hoffman (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	O
12 Jonas (R)	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Kluczynski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 McVey (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 O'Brien (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Sheehan (R)	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Yates (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
7 Bowler (D)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	O
INDIANA									
4 Adair (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Beamer (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Bray (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
11 Brownson (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Crumpacker (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2 Halleck (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
6 Harden (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
10 Harvey (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Madden (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Merrill (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Wilson (R)	+	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
IOWA									
5 Cunningham (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Dolliver (R)	O	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3 Gross (R)	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
8 Hoeven (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
7 Jensen (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4 LeCompte (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Martin (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Talle (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
KANSAS									
3 George (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
5 Hope (R)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1 Miller (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 Rees (R)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2 Scrivner (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Smith (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
KENTUCKY									
4 Chelf (D)	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
8 Golden (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Gregory (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
7 Perkins (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Robsion (R)	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
5 Spence (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
6 Watts (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
2 Natcher (D)	+	+	+	+	–		+	+	+
LOUISIANA									
2 Boggs (D)	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
4 Brooks (D)	O	–	+	+	–	–	+	O	+
1 Hebert (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
8 Long (D)	+	+	–	O	O	–	+	O	+
6 Morrison (D)	O	–	+	O	+	–	+	–	+
5 Passman (D)	+	+	–	+	O	–	+	–	+
7 Thompson (D)	O	–	–	+	O	–	+	–	+
3 Willis (D)	O	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a sound appraisal of the issues involved; the symbol [–] indicates an unsound appraisal. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the House.

*The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears on page 19.

Votes compiled from reports of the *Congressional Quarterly*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	Reciprocal Trade	St. Lawrence Seaway	Foreign Aid	Farm Prices	Unemployment Compensation	Tidelands Oil	Tax Revision	Public Housing	Permit Wiretapping
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
MAINE									
1 Hale (R)	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 McIntire (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	O
2 Nelson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
MARYLAND									
2 Devereux (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Fallon (D)	+	–	+	–	+	–	O	O	+
7 Friedel (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3 Garmatz (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
6 Hyde (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Miller (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Small (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
MASSACHUSETTS									
6 Bates (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Boland (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
10 Curtis (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
4 Donahue (D)	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
8 Goodwin (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
1 Heselton (R)	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
7 Lane (D)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
*14 Martin (R)									
12 McCormack (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Nicholson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 O'Neill (D)	O	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3 Philbin (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
5 Rogers (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
13 Wigglesworth (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
MICHIGAN									
12 Bennett (R)	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
8 Bentley (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Cederberg (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Clardy (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 Dondero (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Ford (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Hoffman (R)	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
11 Knox (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Meader (R)	O	+	O	–	–	+	–	–	+
3 Vacancy									
9 Thompson (R)	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Wolcott (R)	O	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
Detroit—Wayne County									
15 Dingell (D)	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O
16 Lesinski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Machrowicz (D)	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
17 Oakman (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 O'Brien (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
14 Rabaut (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MINNESOTA									
7 Andersen (R)	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1 Andresen (R)	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
8 Blatnik (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Hagen (R)	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
5 Judd (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
6 Marshall (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 McCarthy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 O'Hara (R)	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3 Wier (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI									
1 Abernethy (D)	O	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
6 Colmer (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
3 Smith (D)	+	+	+	+	–	O	+	–	+
2 Whitten (D)	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
4 Williams (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
5 Winstead (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
MISSOURI									
5 Bolling (D)	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Cannon (D)	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
8 Carnahan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Cole (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Curtis (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
4 Hillelson (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Jones (D)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
1 Karsten (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Moulder (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Short (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	+
3 Sullivan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MONTANA									
2 D'Ewart (R)	+	+	–	+	–	O	–	–	O
1 Metcalf (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Reciprocal Trade	St. Lawrence Seaway	Foreign Aid	Farm Prices	Unemployment Compensation	Tidelands Oil	Tax Revision	Public Housing	Permit Wiretapping
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
NEBRASKA									
1 Curtis (R)	O	+	–	–	O	–	–	O	–
3 Harrison (R)	O+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Hruska (R)	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Miller (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEVADA									
AL Young (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE									
2 Cotton (R)	+	–	+	–	O	–	–	–	–
1 Merrow (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
NEW JERSEY									
11 Addonizio (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3 Auchincloss (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
8 Canfield (R)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
6 Williams (D)	+	+	+	–	+		+	+	+
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
2 Hand (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
14 Hart (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
4 Howell (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
12 Kean (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
9 Osmers (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Rodino (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
13 Sieminski (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
7 Widnall (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
1 Wolverton (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
NEW MEXICO									
AL Dempsey (D)	+	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	+
AL Fernandez (D)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
NEW YORK									
3 Becker (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
37 Cole (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Derounian (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
26 Gamble (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
27 Gwinn (R)	O+	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
32 Kearney (R)	O	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	O
38 Keating (R)	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
33 Kilburn (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
40 Miller (R)	+	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
30 O'Brien (D)	+	–	+	+	+	O+	+	+	+
39 Ostertag (R)	+	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
42 Pillion (R)	O	–	O	–	–	–	+	–	–
41 Radwan (R)	O	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	–
43 Reed (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
35 Riehlman (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
28 St. George (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
36 Taber (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
31 Taylor (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
1 Wainwright (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
29 Wharton (R)	+	–	+	–	O	–	–	–	–
34 Williams (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
New York City									
5 Bosch (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
24 Buckley (D)	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
11 Celler (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Coudert (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
7 Delaney (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
23 Dollinger (D)	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
18 Donovan (D)	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
12 Dorn (R)	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
22 Fine (D)	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25 Fino (R)	O	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
8 Vacancy									
6 Holtzman (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
21 Javits (R)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
10 Kelly (D)	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
9 Keogh (D)	O	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Klein (D)	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Latham (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 Multer (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Powell (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
15 Ray (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Rooney (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Roosevelt (D)	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA									
9 Alexander (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
3 Barden (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	+
1 Bonner (D)	O	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	O
7 Carlyle (D)	O	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	O
5 Chatham (D)	O	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
4 Cooley (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
8 Deane (D)	+	O	–	+	–	+	+	+	O
6 Durham (D)	O	–	–	+	O	+	+	–	+
2 Fountain (D)	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
10 Jonas (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
11 Jones (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
12 Shuford (D)	+	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	+

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	Reciprocal Trade	St. Lawrence Seaway	Foreign Aid	Farm Prices	Unemployment Compensation	Tidelands Oil	Tax Revision	Public Housing	Permit Wiretapping
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
NORTH DAKOTA									
AL Burdick (R)	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	–
AL Krueger (R)	O	+	–	+	–	O	–	–	O
OHIO									
14 Ayres (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
23 Bender (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	O
8 Betts (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
22 Bolton, F. P. (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
11 Bolton, O. P. (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
16 Bow (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Brown (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Clevenger (R)	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 Crosser (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Feighan (D)	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
18 Hays (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Hess (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Jenkins (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
19 Kirwan (D)	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 McCulloch (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 McGregor (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Polk (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Reams (I)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3 Schenck (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Scherer (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 Secrest (D)	–	+	–	O	+	+	+	+	+
12 Vorys (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 Weichel (R)	–	O	–	–	O	–	–	O	–
OKLAHOMA									
3 Albert (D)	+	–	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
1 Belcher (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	–
2 Edmondson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
5 Jarman (D)	O	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
4 Steed (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
6 Wickersham (D)	O	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
OREGON									
3 Angell (R)	+	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+
2 Coon (R)	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
4 Ellsworth (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Norblad (R)	+	+	O	O	O	–	–	–	O
PENNSYLVANIA									
11 Bonin (R)	–	–	O	–	O	–	–	–	–
30 Buchanan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Bush (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Carrigg (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
29 Corbett (R)	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
9 Dague (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
28 Eberharter (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Fenton (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
27 Fulton (R)	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
23 Gavin (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
25 Graham (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 James (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
24 Kearns (R)	–	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 Kelley (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 King (R)	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 McConnell (R)	O	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
26 Morgan (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Mumma (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Rhodes (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
22 Saylor (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
18 Simpson (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–
19 Stauffer (R)	O	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Van Zandt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
15 Walter (D)	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
Philadelphia									
1 Barrett (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3 Byrne (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
4 Chudoff (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Granahan (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
5 Green (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
6 Scott (R)	O	–	+	–	O	–	–	+	–
RHODE ISLAND									
2 Fogarty (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
1 Forand (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA									
4 Ashmore (D)	O	–	–	+	–		+	–	+
3 Dorn (D)	–	+	–	+	–		+	–	+
6 McMillan (D)	+	O	–	+	–	O	+	–	+
5 Richards (D)	O	O	+	+	O	–	+	–	O
2 Riley (D)	O	+	O	+	–	–	+	–	O
1 Rivers (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+

	Reciprocal Trade	St. Lawrence Seaway	Foreign Aid	Farm Prices	Unemployment Compensation	Tidelands Oil	Tax Revision	Public Housing	Permit Wiretapping
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
SOUTH DAKOTA									
2 Berry (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1 Lovre (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
TENNESSEE									
2 Baker (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
8 Cooper (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
9 Davis (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	O
4 Evins (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
3 Frazier (D)	O	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
7 Murray (D)	+	+	O	+	–	–	+	–	+
5 Priest (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
1 Reece (R)	O	–	–	+	–	O	–	–	–
6 Sutton (D)	O	O	O	O	O	+	+	O	O
TEXAS									
15 Bentsen (D)	O	O	–	+	O	–	+	–	+
2 Brooks (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
17 Burleson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
AL Dies (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
7 Dowdy (D)	+	–	–	+	O	–	+	–	+
21 Fisher (D)	+	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	+
3 Gentry (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
13 Ikard (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
20 Kilday (D)	+	–	+	+	O	–	+	–	+
12 Lucas (D)	O	+	O	+	–	–	+	–	+
14 Lyle (D)	+	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	O
19 Mahon (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
1 Patman (D)	+	+	+	+	O	–	+	+	+
11 Poage (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
4 Rayburn (D)	+	+	+	+	O	–	+	+	+
16 Regan (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O
18 Rogers (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
6 Teague (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
8 Thomas (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
9 Thompson (D)	+	–	+	+	O	–	+	O	+
10 Thornberry (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
5 Wilson (D)	O	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	O
UTAH									
2 Dawson (R)	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
1 Stringfellow (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VERMONT									
AL Prouty (R)	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
VIRGINIA									
4 Abbitt (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
10 Broyhill (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Gary (D)	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
2 Hardy (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
7 Harrison (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
6 Poff (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Robeson (D)	+	–	–	+	O	–	+	–	+
8 Smith (D)	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
5 Tuck (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
9 Wampler (R)	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
WASHINGTON									
4 Holmes (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
5 Horan (R)	O	+	O	+	–	–	–	–	–
3 Mack (R)	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
AL Magnuson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Pelly (R)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
6 Tollefson (R)	O	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
2 Westland (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
WEST VIRGINIA									
3 Bailey (D)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
6 Byrd (D)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
5 Kee (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Mollohan (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Neal (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Staggers (D)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN									
8 Byrnes (R)	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Davis (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Johnson (D)	–	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
5 Kersten (R)	O	+	O	O	O	–	–	+	–
7 Laird (R)	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 O'Konski (R)	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1 Smith (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Van Pelt (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Withrow (R)	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+
4 Zablocki (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WYOMING									
AL Harrison (R)	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–

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Even his wife had her own ideas
On TV programs and the price of milk.
And the baby sitter
Was a convinced Baptist.
Our friend loved to talk
(When people agreed with him)
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Evenings he would sit on the porch
And shout at the hillside,
"Democrats, sir, are an invention
Of the Devil."
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